

**THE HISTORY
OF
HUMAN MARRIAGE**

THE HISTORY OF HUMAN MARRIAGE

VOLUME FOUR

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New INTRODUCTION

It is indeed an honour to have been asked to introduce a book that made publishing history when it first appeared in 1891. As a new initiate to the science of Anthropology I had an occasion to scan through this *Magnum Opus* in the late 1950s. I was greatly impressed by the encyclopaedic coverage and the scholarly treatment of the book. Rereading the book after a long gap of fifty years spent in teaching and research, when one has a better grasp of theory and methodology, is an altogether different experience. Of course, these years have seen a good deal of theoretical sophistication relative to the institutions of marriage and family, and yet this book has not lost its relevance. It is good that it is reproduced so that it will be available to the new generation of readers.



Using the comparative method, the author had visited enormous amount of data relative to several hundred tribes and communities concerning marriage related practices and had come up with significant theoretical formulations challenging several of the existing conclusions and theories. Not only did he review the ethnographies written by the pioneering anthropologists, who had lived among the primitives in distant lands, he also examined religious texts and scriptures of various denominations. Included among them, surprisingly, were also the *Manu Smriti*, *Parashar's Grihya Sutra* and the *Mahabharata* epic!! The book rivalled James Frazer's *The Golden Bough* as a significant bibliographical reference work and as a veritable encyclopaedia of information of a single institution. The book dealt not only with marriage, in a narrower sense of the term, but every aspect of heterosexuality—celibacy, incest, promiscuity, premarital sex, religious prostitution, monogamy, polygamy etc.

Authored by a young Finnish Anthropologist who learnt English at the ripe age of 25, the book appeared in print when he was just 29. The book had gone five printings. The Second Edition appeared in 1894, and the Third in 1901. The First edition was so well received that its translations soon appeared in German, Swedish, French, Italian, and Russian. The book attracted a good deal of debate and encouraged other scholars to develop alternative theories, but the author could not respond to them when the Third edition appeared, as he was engaged in anthropological research in Morocco. The fourth edition, published in 1911, did contain an appendix to update relevant information and also did respond to some of the criticisms. It was, however, the Fifth edition, brought out 30 years

after its first publication, in the year 1921, that the author made significant revisions and considerably enlarged the text spreading into three volumes. Preparation of this edition entailed a thorough revision of the entire text. Virtually all sentences were redone and several new passages and chapters were added. Thus, the Fifth edition can be regarded as a new book altogether. Previous editions were the work of a fresh Ph.D.; the Fifth edition bears the stamp of an established scholar, with considerable experience of fieldwork, and advantage of reading a good deal of relevant material. This is the reprint of the Fifth edition, coming out after 86 years. The original three volumes are, in this reprint, being reproduced in six volumes for logistic reasons. The content, however, remains unchanged.

In its elaborated form, for example, treatment of the phenomenon of *Jus Primae Noctis*¹—the right of the first night—covers 69 pages compared to the nine pages in the first edition. Similarly, marriage rites that were dismissed in thirteen pages in the first edition are given three full chapters with an increase of twelve times in the number of pages devoted to this topic. The enlarged version contains two chapters on polyandry and a separate chapter on group marriage. There is also detailed treatment of the influence of economic conditions in determining monogamy and polygyny. The bibliographic references in the enlarged version are spread in 100 pages. This figure may not surprise today's readers because the availability of search engines via the internet—e.g. Google—has made the task of the researchers and writers much easier; but imagine the travails of the author working in the 1920s without the aid of the computer, and perhaps using also a very primitive model of a typewriter. Westermarck deserves all the kudos for his industry, perseverance, and total dedication to such a scholarly pursuit.

It is important to note that the first edition of this book carried an Introductory Note by Alfred R. Wallace—a big name of those days as a naturalist, explorer, geographer, anthropologist, biologist, and a social reformer, all rolled into one personality of stature. Wallace was a contemporary of Charles Darwin, and his writings provided stimulus to Darwin for his work on evolutionary theory. He is known as father of biogeography. While Wallace became a defender for Darwin's work, *The Origin of Species*, the two scholars differed on the issue of survival.

1. The *jus primae noctis* was, in the late medieval European context, an ancient privilege of the lord of the manor to share the wedding bed with his peasants' brides. Symbolic gestures, reflecting this belief, were developed by the lords and used as humiliating signs of superiority over the dependent peasants in the 15th century, a time of diminishing status differences. It is not known whether actual intercourse occurred in the exercise of the alleged right. However, the symbolic gestures can be best interpreted as a male power display, coercive social dominance, male competition, and male desire for sexual variety. Through a serious library search Westermarck culled out accounts from several non-European cultures of a similar custom related to a young girl's first sexual intercourse: ritual defloration by chiefs, priests or strangers.

Darwin emphasised competition between members of the same species and promulgated the theory of the “survival of the fittest” and “struggle for existence”, while Wallace highlighted the importance of “adaptation” to the environment for survival. Like Darwin, Wallace had also undertaken long voyages to collect specimens of various species. He spent a good deal of time in the Malay Peninsula, and in Brazil. These scientific trips offered him the opportunity to come in contact with the savage cultures as well, and ignited him an interest in anthropology.

Westermarck grew in such an intellectual climate. All scholarly activity was geared towards reconstruction of the history of planet earth—its geology, its flora and fauna—the origin of various species and their development, and the history of mankind and of various civilizations. It is this interest that took scholars to distant lands and exposed them to literature on various societies around the world. Anthropology took birth in such a milieu. As the Science of Man, this discipline was interested in taking a holistic view by treating all aspects of Man—physical, social and cultural. The search of the origin of the biological Man took anthropologists closer to palaeontologists and led to the investigation of fossils. Discovery of abandoned human habitats necessitated study of the leftovers of material culture in the framework of prehistoric archaeology. Visits to the tribal areas sensitized them to the cultural differences and forms of social behaviour, which led some to reconstruct human history in evolutionary terms – placing various societies on a common evolutionary ladder. Westermarck grew in such a milieu.

Edward Alexander Westermarck was born on November 20, 1862 in Helsinki, Finland. After graduating from the Swedish Lyceum in 1881, Westermarck entered the University of Helsinki, from where he received his doctoral degree in 1890. By the age of 25, he had learnt English to be able to study the works of Darwin, Morgan, Lubbock, and McLennan in the original language. It is due to this exposure, and particularly the period he spent studying at the British Museum in 1887 that he wrote his dissertation *The Origins of Human Marriage*—the predecessor of this Opus. The instant scientific success of this work motivated Westermarck to devote his entire life to investigating the institution of marriage. He started as a lecturer in Sociology at the University of Helsinki (1890-1906) and then rose to become Professor of Moral and Practical Philosophy at the same university (1906-18). Between 1907 and 1930, he also served intermittently as Professor of Sociology at the University of London. He devoted several summer vacations to his investigations in Morocco. He moved to Turku in 1918, where he acted as Professor of Philosophy and Rector at Åbo Akademi — the Swedish-speaking university of Turku.

After his book on *The Origins of Human Marriage*, Westermarck published a two-volume book on *The Origin And Development Of Moral Ideas* (1906-08), which was an attempt to “scientificize” moral philosophy. He demonstrated that there is no absolute standard in morality. Regarding morality as a social phenomenon, Westermarck argued that moral judgments could be traced “to altruistic and objective feelings of approval and disapproval, according to social rewards”. He was against the view that moral judgments are universal facts or common to all people. They are a product of a long period of development, and ultimately based upon emotions, and vary in different individuals. In 1939, he published another philosophical work, *Christianity and Morals*, in which he opposed the view that the “modern world owes its scientific spirit to the extreme importance which Christianity assigned to the possession of truth, of *the truth*.” He also advocated tolerance towards homosexuality.² This book could not be published in Finnish until 1984, because of its radical views. As an aside, it may be noted that Westermarck himself never married; some people even alleged his homosexual orientation.

Westermarck did intensive fieldwork in Morocco, which he visited several times between the years 1897 and 1904. Based on these field visits he wrote: *Marriage Ceremonies In Morocco* (1914), *Ritual And Belief In Morocco* (1926), and *Wit And Wisdom In Morocco : A Study of Native Proverbs* (1930), and *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilization* (1933). These works are rich in ethnographic details.

Westermarck died on September 9, 1939, in Tenhola.

So powerful was the impact of Westermarck in intellectual circles that in 1943, his admirers in England founded a Westermarck Society. In Finland, Westermarck’s work influenced a number of scholars—Rafael Karsten, Gunnar Landtman, Hilma Granqvist, Yrjö Hirn, and Rolf Lagerborg, among others. In Bernard Shaw’s play titled *Man and Superman* a character called Violet is presented as a modern, self-conscious woman, who had read Westermarck! Noted French anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss considered him “the last and most famous representative of the English Anthropological School; he embodied, with an exceptional, militant power, a current of thought which renewed our social and moral understanding, and out of which grew the first efforts to develop

. This is what he wrote in the book: “Among mammals the male possesses useless nipples, which occasionally even develop into breasts, and the female possesses a clitoris, which is merely a rudimentary penis, and may also develop. So, too, a homosexual tendency may be regarded as simply the psychical manifestation of special characters of the other sex, susceptible of being evolved under certain circumstances, such as may occur about the age of puberty. Thus the sexual instinct of boys and girls shows plain signs of a homosexual tendency, and is often more or less undifferentiated. When facts of this kind become more commonly known, they can scarcely fail to influence public opinion about homosexuality.”

a comprehensive description of mankind.” Lévi-Strauss, applauded Westermarck for the courage he had shown to contradict the giants of his time in the following manner: “[O]ne can never insist enough on the importance of the step which Westermarck took to free sociology by eliminating the theory of promiscuity, which had been interposed like a distorting filter between primitive psychology and our own”.³

III

The intellectual debate of the Nineteenth Century was characterised by differing emphases on heredity and on environment—not only the physical environment but also the social environment, that is, culture. It is in such a context that Wallace became famous for his essay on “The Origin of the Human Races and the Antiquity of Man”, published in 1864. Wallace did not believe in “Social Darwinism” as he thought that social living makes people very corrupt, and thus natural processes of evolution get disrupted.

For Westermarck—a young and fresh Ph.D.—it must have been an exhilarating feeling that Wallace did the proof reading of his book at the request of the publishers. The publishers also approached Wallace to do the Introduction, which he gladly accepted. Wallace admitted after reading the manuscript that he “...seldom read a more thorough or a more philosophic discussion of some of the most difficult, and at the same time interesting problems of anthropology.” Comparing his work as that of a “hitherto unknown student” with “an array of authority” such as Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, and Lubbock, Wallace recognised the point that the challenges offered to the well-established conclusions of these scholars will have little chance of success. “Yet I venture to anticipate that the verdict of independent thinkers will, on most of these disputed points, be in favour of the newcomer who has so boldly challenged the conclusions of some of our most esteemed writers. Even those whose views are here opposed, will, I think, acknowledge that Mr. Westermarck is a careful investigator and an acute reasoner, and that his arguments as well as his conclusions are worthy of the most careful consideration”.

It must be said that late nineteenth century was the period when Marxism was on ascent as an ideology. It was also the time when evolutionary theories gained currency in the academe. Influenced by evolutionary theory in natural sciences, anthropologists of that era were also engaged in conjecturing about

3. “The work of Edward Westermarck”, translated by A. Stroup & T. Stroup. In Stroup, T., ed. 1982. Edward Westermarck: Essays on His Life and Works. *Acta Philosophica Fennica*, vol.

34. Originally published in *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 129, nos. 1 & 2-3 (January-June 1945): 84-100.

the origin of Man and the evolution of social institutions. These theorists regarded monogamy as the trait of the most advanced societies and suggested that this institution evolved from the earliest stage of promiscuity, as was seen apparently among the infra-human animals. Liberal thinkers opposing Marxian theory and predictions were also making important scholarly contributions to present opposing views. Social scientists are all familiar with the work of Max Weber whose writings on religion—Protestant Ethic, or Hinduism -- were, in the main, directed to oppose Marxist assumptions. If the letter ‘M’ indicated Marxist view, the letter ‘W’—obverse of M—represented Weberian stand.

One can put Westermarck’s present work in the same terrain. He opposed the view, with remarkable array of documentary evidence and solid logical reasoning, that promiscuity marked the beginnings of Human civilization. Stray instances of superficial promiscuity and some other practices indicative of communal sharing had prompted earlier scholars—such as, Lewis Henry Morgan—to suggest that most primitive societies practised some sort of communism. Those opposing the communist ideology took great pains in contradicting these assertions. We are familiar with Malinowski’s work among the Melanesians on *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* in which he demonstrated how the concept of private property worked among the fishermen, and in the *Kula* trade involving a group of tribal societies living in the Pacific islands. Westermarck, similarly, questioned the promiscuity assumption and offered several examples to support his view.

Westermarck emphasised on the biological bases of emotions and of social relations. He took great pains to bring biology and sociology closer. On the one hand, he did intensive fieldwork for a number of years in Morocco—that resulted in a number of significant publications relative to marriage, rituals, and morals; on the other hand, he engaged himself in the task of developing and promoting comparative method in Anthropology, by working at a global level. The holistic approach followed in ethnographic research certainly had its advantages in understanding the culture of the group being studied, but it could not be a substitute for the development of a universally applicable theory of human behaviour. The comparative method provided a way out to develop generalizations at the level of human civilization as a whole. The long Introduction to this set of volumes is devoted to the explication of the comparative method, and it is a must-read. It is a brilliant exposé of all aspects of the methodology of comparative research. No doubt, Westermarck was criticised by his contemporaries for departing from the holistic and microcosmic approach. But he defended his comparative method and suggested combining the best parts of the two traditions in his Huxley Memorial Lecture on “Methods in social anthropology”. This Lecture was published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* (Vol. 66; 1936, July-December, pp. 223-48).

While emphasising the value of comparative method, Westermarck did not forget to point out its pitfalls. He was also critical of those who ignored the role of biological factors in social formulations. "It was a great defect of earlier treatises", he said, "on marriage that the biological aspect of the problem was entirely ignored, and even now it is not sufficiently recognised". He used the biological dimension in disregarding the theory of promiscuity as the early stage of marriage in terms of a unilinear theory of evolution. Similarly, he advocated restraint in interpreting data. "There is a tendency to assume that similar customs, rites, and practices by different peoples, have their roots in similar ideas, and, although this tendency is easy to explain and very often results in accurate classifications, it is also apt to lead to ill-founded or erroneous conclusions". He was hinting at the tendency to classify facts under wrong headings "on account of external resemblances with other facts." One acid test of commonality, according to him, is when "two independent visitors to different countries agree in describing some analogous art or rite or myth among the people they visited."

Westermarck rigorously employed these criteria in his comparative research on Marriage. His chapters, for example, on Exogamy and Endogamy provide examples from a wide variety of societies and cultures—primitive and modern—to communicate to the reader the range of similarities and differences that exist. Rules governing endogamy operate in several contexts but how they help define the boundaries of caste are so clearly shown that one can easily see the beginnings of a good sociological definition of caste in Westermarck's writings. He had familiarity with data drawn from various castes and tribes⁴ in India. And his treatment is structural rather than Indological. For students of Caste, I would specifically recommend these chapters.

IV

The fact that this work was done in the early years of the twentieth century does not minimise its importance as a classic even today. The book is an enormous storehouse of information on the institution of marriage. It is a grand illustration of the utility of the comparative method for theory building. With its reprint, it will now be available to the new libraries, and hopefully it would attract new readership.

Yogesh Atal

4. He quotes examples from Gonds, Tottiyans (Tamil cultivators), Todas, Irulas, Bhotias, Nayadis, Koracha, Kappilyans, Kasubas, Madas of Mysore, and Oraons.

PREFACE

During the thirty years which have passed since the publication of the first edition of the present work the study of marriage and matters connected with it, especially among the lower races, has made such progress that I have found it necessary to reconsider the whole subject. Many new facts have been incorporated, and some old ones have been omitted. Various aspects of marriage, which were previously dealt with very inadequately or hardly touched upon, have been discussed at length. Objections raised by critics have been carefully considered. The old theories have been in some cases strengthened but in other cases modified. New theories set forth by other writers have been scrutinised. The matter has in many points been rearranged; and the book has been rewritten throughout to such an extent that very few sentences of the earlier editions have remained unchanged.

Only some of the changes can be here briefly indicated. A new introductory chapter on method, largely dealing with problems of recent growth, has taken the place of the old one. The statements quoted by certain writers as evidence of peoples living in a state of promiscuity have been more carefully examined, and the customs which have been represented as survivals of such a state in the past have been more fully discussed. Thus the subjects of the *jus primae noctis*, religious prostitution, and the lending or exchange of wives now occupy sixty-nine pages instead of nine. In the treatment of the classificatory system of relationship the recent contributions to the subject, which largely tend to confirm my old views, have been taken notice of. In the discussion of the marriage age and certain other matters more attention has been paid to the laws of civilised countries. Religious celibacy and sexual modesty have each got a special chapter. The origin of female coyness has been discussed. With reference to the secondary sexual characters a suggestion has been made which, if correct, brings the sexual colours, odours, and sounds of animals into the closest possible analogy with the colours and odours of the flowers of plants. In the chapters on primitive means of attraction the older theories, though in some measure supported by new evidence, have in certain points been modified in accordance with the results of later research. A more thorough investigation of the exogamous rules has confirmed my belief in the substantial accuracy of my earlier theory as to their origin; and I hope that the restatement of it, in which the objections of critics have been taken into consideration, has made it more acceptable. The chapters on marriage by capture and marriage by consideration, together with kindred subjects, contain copious additions and changes.

The extremely defective treatment of marriage rites, which covered thirteen pages only, has been replaced by three chapters of more than twelve times that length; but for a study of the marriage ritual as a sequence I must refer the reader to my book *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*. In the course of my six years' research in Morocco, and through books like *The Mystic Rose* and *The Golden Bough*, I have become aware of the enormous influence of magical beliefs on marriage rites; whereas the value of these rites for the study of earlier forms of marriage now seems to me to be even less than I thought before. I am grateful to the distinguished reviewer of the first edition of this work who expressed the belief that if its author had been a student of folklore he would in various cases have arrived at different conclusions. It drew my attention to a defect which I have since then endeavoured to remedy; but my conceptions of the earlier history of marriage have not been essentially changed thereby.

In my discussion of monogamy and polygyny, and in many other sections of the book as well, I have considered the influence which economic conditions have exercised upon marriage, a point which was also greatly neglected in the earlier editions. Polyandry, which was dealt with on a few pages, now forms the subject-matter of two whole chapters; and the question of group-marriage, which of late has much occupied the minds of sociologists, has been discussed in a chapter by itself. The treatment of divorce is much more detailed, both as regards the history of the subject and the present legislation on it. The list of authorities quoted has increased from thirty pages to over a hundred; and the work as a whole has been expanded from one volume into Six. In short, it is a new work much rather than a new edition.

At the same time, amidst all the changes, the general character, as well as the structure, of the book has remained unchanged. The criticism passed on it has not essentially affected either its method or its fundamental ideas. This may perhaps be due to the fact that, although I opposed many theories in vogue at the time when the book was first written and the method which had led to them, my decision to write it did not spring from a desire for opposition. On the contrary, I commenced my work as a faithful adherent of the theory of primitive promiscuity and tried to discover fresh evidence for it in customs which I thought might be interpreted as survivals from a time when individual marriage did not exist. I had not proceeded far, however, when I found that I was on the wrong track. I perceived that marriage must primarily be studied in its connection with biological conditions, and that the tendency to interpret all sorts of customs as social survivals, without a careful examination into their existing environment, is apt to lead to the most arbitrary conclusions. Later treatises on the subject have only confirmed this conviction; and the present revival of the old method is not, in my opinion, likely to yield lasting results.

I am indebted to the Press and public both in this country and elsewhere for the encouraging interest they have taken during all these years in the work of my youth; to the earlier translations of it have been added subsequent ones into Spanish and Japanese. I am again under obligation to friends and correspondents for valuable advice and information. The largest part of the material has been collected in the Reading Room of the British Museum, and I take this opportunity to thank its officials for their unfailing courtesy.

Woodman's Cottage,
Boxhill, Surrey

E.W.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

I need scarcely say how fully I appreciate the honour of being introduced to English readers by Mr. Alfred R. Wallace. I am also greatly obliged for his kindness in reading the proofs, and in giving me the benefit of his advice with regard to various parts of the subject.

It is difficult for me to acknowledge sufficiently my obligations to Mr. James Sime for his assistance in preparing this book for the press. The work, as originally written, naturally contained a good many foreign modes of expression. Mr. Sime has been indefatigable in helping me to improve the form of the text; and, in our discussions on the main lines of the argument, he has made several important suggestions. I am sincerely obliged for the invaluable aid he has given me.

My cordial thanks are due to Mr. Charles J. Cooke, British Vice-Consul at Helsingfors, who most kindly aided me in writing the first part of the book in a tongue which is not my own. I am indebted also to Dr. E. B. Tylor, Professor G. Croom Robertson, Mr. James Sully, and Dr. W. C. Coupland for much encouraging interest; to Mr. Joseph Jacobs for the readiness with which he has placed at my disposal some results of his own researches; and to several gentlemen in different parts of the world who have been so good as to respond to my inquiries as to their personal observation of various classes of phenomena connected with marriage among savage tribes. The information I have received from them is acknowledged in the passages in which it is used.

A list of authorities is given at the end of the book—between the text and the index,—and it may be well to add that the references in the notes have been carefully verified.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

In this new edition of my book I have made no essential changes, but here and there the argument has been strengthened by the addition of facts which have come to my knowledge since the appearance of the first edition. The most important of these new facts will be found in the second chapter.

I take this opportunity of expressing my warm appreciation of the thorough way in which the ideas set forth in this book have been discussed by many critics in England and elsewhere. Translations of the work have appeared, or are about to appear, in German, Swedish, French, Italian, and Russian.

London, January 1894

E.W.

PREFACE TO THE THIRD EDITION

I much regret that the demand for a new edition of this book should come at a time when circumstances prevent me from undertaking such a revision of the work as I feel to be required. Since the appearance of the Second Edition many important facts bearing upon the subject have been brought to light, new theories have been advanced, and old theories, supported by fresh arguments, have been revived. To all this, however, I can do no justice, as I am at present being engaged in anthropological research in Morocco. This edition is, in consequence, a mere reprint of the second. But I purpose, after my return to Europe, to issue an Appendix, in which the book will be brought more up to date and some criticism will be replied to.

Mogador (Morocco)
August 1901

E.W.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE TO THE FIRST EDITION

ALFRED R. WALLACE

Having read the proofs of Mr. Westermarck's book I am asked by the publishers to say a few words by way of introducing the work to English readers. This I have great pleasure in doing, because I have seldom read a more thorough or a more philosophic discussion of some of the most difficult, and at the same time interesting, problems of anthropology.

The origin and development of human marriage have been discussed by such eminent writers as Darwin, Spencer, Morgan, Lubbock, and many others. On some of the more important questions involved in it all these writers are in general accord, and this agreement has led to their opinions being widely accepted as if they were well-established conclusions of science. But on several of these points Mr. Westermarck has arrived at different, and sometimes diametrically opposite, conclusions, and he has done so after a most complete and painstaking investigation of all the available facts.

With such an array of authority on the one side and a hitherto unknown student on the other, it will certainly be thought that all the probabilities are against the latter. Yet I venture to anticipate that the verdict of independent thinkers will, on most of these disputed points, be in favour of the new comer who has so boldly challenged the conclusions of some of our most esteemed writers. Even those whose views are here opposed, will, I think, acknowledge that Mr. Westermarck is a careful investigator and an acute reasoner, and that his arguments as well as his conclusions are worthy of the most careful consideration.

I would also call attention to his ingenious and philosophical explanation of the repugnance to marriage between near relatives which is so very general both among savage and civilised man, and as to the causes of which there has been great diversity of opinion; and to his valuable suggestions on the general question of sexual selection, in which he furnishes an original argument against Darwin's views on the point, differing somewhat from my own though in general harmony with it.

Every reader of the work will admire its clearness of style, and the wonderful command of what is to the author a foreign language.

Publisher's Note

It is our great pleasure to publish *The History of Human Marriage* in six volumes. Written by well known Finnish anthropologist Edward Westermarck, it first appeared in 1891. Subsequently, the book had gone five printings. But for a long time it was out of print.

The book provides encyclopaedic information on the institution of marriage. It deals not only with marriage, in a narrow sense of the term, but every aspect of heterosexuality—celibacy, incest, promiscuity, premarital sex, religious prostitution, monogamy and polygamy. It is a grand illustration of the utility of the comparative method for theory building. It also has a new Introduction written by India's highly acclaimed social scientist, Prof. Yogesh Atal, who retired as the Principal Director of UNESCO with its reprint, we hope, it will serve the scholarly world.

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Volume Four

CHAPTER XXII

CONSENT AS A CONDITION OF MARRIAGE

UNLIKE the unions between the sexes in the lower animal world, human marriage is a social institution, which concerns not only the contracting parties but other individuals as well. Hence the conclusion of a marriage may require the consent of the latter or even be arranged by them; and, on the other hand, the consent of the bride or the bridegroom or both may be dispensed with.

We shall begin with the lower races. We have seen that infant- or child-betrothals are common among many of them,¹ and in such cases the consent of the parties is out of the question. But often enough the betrothal is not considered binding on either party,² or is regarded as binding on the female only,³ although we may assume that as a rule

¹ *Supra*, ch. x.

² Appun, 'Die Indianer von Britisch-Guayana,' in *Das Ausland*, xliv. 446. Boas, 'Central Eskimo,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* vi. 578; Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, i. 809 (Eskimo). Petroff, 'Report on the Population, &c. of Alaska,' in *Tenth Census of the United States*, p. 158 (Atkha Aleut). Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, pp. 223, 226 sq. Rivers, *Todas*, p. 504. Hahl, 'Ueber die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingeborenen der Blanchebucht und des Innern der Gazelle Halbinsel,' in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 78 sq. de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 231. Tautain, 'Étude sur le mariage chez les Polynésien des îles Marquises,' in *L'Anthropologie*, vi. 645. Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, p. 124 sq. (Akikúyu). Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 490 (Akamba). Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, p. 94 (Bambala).

³ Ellis, *Ede-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 201. Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 198 sq. Sarbah, *Fanti Customary Laws*, p. 45 sq. Guillemard, *Cruise of the Marchesa*, p. 389 (Nufoor Papuans).

the marriage is consummated.¹ Among other savage peoples marriage contracts are concluded by the parents of the parties even when these are grown-up.² This was the case among the Algonkin, of whom Charlevoix wrote :— " Treaties of marriage are entirely carried on by the parents : the parties interested do not appear at all, and give themselves up entirely to the will of those on whom they depend. . . . However, the parents do not conclude any thing without their consent ; but this is only a formality."³ Among the Natchez no match was ever concluded without the agreement of the heads of both families, who were usually great-grandfathers ; but the young man first obtained the girl's own consent.⁴ Among the natives of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain it is the rule that a wife is chosen not by the future husband himself but by his maternal uncle or other relatives ; but if the parties object to the choice, the matter drops.⁵ In Tikopia, one of the Santa Cruz Islands, and in the Banks Islands, again, when a man is old enough to marry, a wife is chosen for him by his father's sister, or

¹ Among the Maori the breaking of a betrothal made in infancy was always regarded as an insult and had to be avenged (Tregear, *Maori Race*, p. 285).

² Hill Tout, 'Report on the Ethnology of the South-Eastern Tribes of Vancouver Island,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 310 (Salish tribes). Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 97 (Aht). La Flesche, 'Osage Marriage Customs,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xiv. 127. Marston, 'Letter to Jedidiah Morse,' in Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, ii. 165 (Sauk and Foxes ; sometimes). Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, ii. 93 (Huichol ; formerly). Geiseler, *Die Oster-Insel*, p. 41 (Easter Islanders). Shand, 'Moriore People of the Chatham Islands,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* vi. 145. Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 175. Kubary, 'Die Palau-Inseln in der Südsee,' in *Jour. Museum Godeffroy*, iv. 55. Finley and Churchill, *Subanu of Mindanao*, p. 39. Davidson, *Island of Formosa*, p. 573 (Tsalisens).

³ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North-America*, ii. 38. See also Hodge, *op. cit.* i. 809 ; Speck, *Family, &c. of various Algonkian Bands of the Ottawa Valley*, p. 23 (Timagami band of Ojibwa).

⁴ Le Page du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, p. 344.

⁵ Hahl, *loc. cit.* p. 78. Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 62, 65. Cf. Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 28 (Bismarck Archipelago).

if he himself selects one, the choice is ratified by her; "a man would never marry against the will of his father's sister."¹ Among the Bagobo of Mindanao the parents of the boy as a rule selected the girl and negotiated the match; and it was not customary for the young people to refuse to carry out the wishes of their elders.² In many of the uncivilised tribes of India marriages are generally planned and arranged by the parents of the young people concerned.³ Among the Mundas, for example, the selection is ordinarily made for the boy as well as for the girl by the father or guardian; but the boy's approval of the selection is frequently sought for and generally obtained.⁴ Among the Oráons "the boy and girl have absolutely nothing to say in the matter. Everything is settled by the parents."⁵ And among the Kisáns "there is no instance on record of a youth or maiden objecting to the arrangement made for them."⁶ In various African tribes, also, the parents, and especially the father, arrange for the son's marriage.⁷

¹ Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, i. 39, 49, 309.

² Cole, 'Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' in *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, xii. 101 sq.

³ Stoll, 'Notes on the Yoon-tha-lin Karens,' in *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, N.S. vi. 61 sq. Endle, *Kacháris*, pp. 44 (Kacháris), 95 (Deoris). Rowlatt, 'Expedition into the Mishmee Hills,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. xiv. pt. ii. 488. Hutchinson, *Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, p. 96 (Chukmas). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 194, 215, 279 (Mundas, Santals, Marias). Hunter, *Rural Bengal*, iii. 83 (Kandhs). Malcolm, 'Essay on the Bhills,' in *Trans. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* i. 83. Thurston, 'Anthropology of the Todas and Kotas of the Nilgiri Hills,' in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, i. 195 (Kotas). Sherring, 'Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 98.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 194. Sarat Chandra Roy, *Mundas*, p. 437.

⁵ Dehon, 'Religion and Customs of the Uraons,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 161.

⁶ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 132.

⁷ Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. 166 (certain tribes). Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 878 (Nandi). Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 221 (Warundi). Felkin, 'Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xii. 320. Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, pp. 38, 39 (Banyoro), 172 sq. (Bagesu).

Among the Batoro, south of Lake Albert Nyanza, the father of the young man goes to the father of the girl, and the matter is arranged; "the young people are told about it, but they have no voice in the matter."¹ Among the Xosa Kafirs it is the rule that the young man's father chooses the first, and sometimes even the second, wife for his sons.² When a Basuto youth, through his behaviour, indicates that he wants to marry, no questions are asked as to whom he wishes for a wife. "His wishes are very secondary considerations, and not to be weighed for a moment against those of his father. If the wife selected by his father does not happen to be the 'lady of his heart,' he is at liberty to choose a second wife for himself, as soon as he can pay the dowry or persuade his father to pay it for him."³ Among the Herero the young people have as a rule no liberty of choice, their fathers or parents, or other elderly relatives as well, arranging the matter without consulting their wishes.⁴

Among some peoples a marriage is considered to require the consent not only of some near relatives but of the communities to which the parties belong. Among the Maori, according to Mr. Best, "in the arranging of a marriage it is not only the families of the young couple who take part in such, but also the family group, or the *hapu* (that is, clan), or perhaps even the whole tribe—*i.e.*, in a marriage of important persons. Indeed the parents often have little to say in regard to the marriages of their children, the leading part in the arrangements being taken by the brothers and sisters of the parents." The girl's consent is also asked, before all the assembled people, but even now it is a common thing, when a marriage occurs, to hear the remark made, "The tribe married them."⁵ In the kingdom of Acheh, on

¹ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 52.

² Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern im östlichen Südafrika*, p. 133 sq. See also Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 212.

³ Minnie Martin, *Basutoland*, p. 81. See also Casalis, *Basutos*, p. 186.

⁴ Büttner, 'Sozialpolitisches aus dem Leben der Herero in Damaraland,' in *Das Ausland*, lv. 853. Kohler, 'Das Recht der Herero,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xiv. 301.

⁵ Best, 'Maori Marriage Customs,' in *Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi. 34 sqq. See also Colenso, *Maori Races of New Zealand*, p. 25.

the east coast of Sumatra, the parents of the young man have before taking the first step asked the permission of the headman of their own *gampōng*, or village community, for the proposed marriage, and the parents of the girl on their part do the same with their local authorities. The headmen have power to prevent a proposed marriage from taking place, although the headman of the girl's *gampōng* will seldom refuse his consent. Thus marriage is here by no means a mere family matter, but at least as much an affair of the whole village community.¹ Among the Australian aborigines marriages are often arranged by the camp council or the leading men of the community. In some Queensland tribes, according to Dr. Roth, "each male can at least have two wives—an official one supplied him, as a member of the community, by the camp in general council assembled, and an unofficial one of his own choice, whose love, such as it is, he finds reciprocated."² Among the Narrinyeri "marriages are generally, but not always, arranged by the clans. The marriage ceremony consists in the father, or eldest brother, or nearest male relative of the woman, formally giving her to her future husband in the presence of the assembled clans or relatives. She signifies her acceptance of the giving by making a fire for her husband."³ Among the Dieri wives are given "by the elders and chief of the tribes, after consultation with the near relatives."⁴ Among some peoples a young man who wants to marry must first obtain the permission of his chief;⁵ and the Dahoman theory is that the King gives wives to the people, parents having no sort of property in their children.⁶ We do not know, however, the actual extent of interference in such cases. It may be said that

¹ Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i. 299.

² Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 180. See also Lang, *Queensland*, p. 337; *Idem*, *Cookland in North-Eastern Australia*, p. 394.

³ Taplin, *Folklore, &c. of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 35.

⁴ Gason, 'Dieyerie, &c.', in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 169.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 632 (Bahima). Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, ii. 99 (Ainu).

⁶ Norris, quoted by Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 40 n. 2.

among every people the selection of mates is controlled by its customs or laws. And sometimes—as in the case of obligatory levirate, sororate, and crōss-cousin marriage—the choice of partners may be entirely independent of all individual wishes.

Marriage brings together strange families or larger groups of kindred, or constitutes a new tie between friendly ones. It is therefore not surprising that the fathers or parents or other relatives of the parties want to have a voice in the matter. Speaking of the careful supervision of marriages among the Maori, Mr. Best observes, "To a great extent it was caused by tribal anxiety to avoid a *mésalliance*, to prevent a person of good birth from marrying into a family of *ware*, or low born people, to keep unmixed the blood of the *rangatira* class, to uphold the rank, fame, and dignity of first-born lines of descent, and hence to prevent all *tipuheke*, or degeneration, of blue-blooded lines."¹ The power of interference depends, of course, upon the authority which the families or their heads possess over the individual members of the family. Among the Xosa Kafirs, for example, the father rules as long as he lives over the whole of his family, including the married sons.² Among the Kandhs, in each family the absolute authority rests with the house-father: the sons have no property during his lifetime, and all the male children, with their wives and descendants, continue to share the father's meal, prepared by the common mother.³ The father chooses a full-grown woman as a wife for his young son. "In the superior age of the bride," says Colonel Macpherson, "is seen but a proof of the supremacy of the paternal authority amongst this singular people. The parents obtain in the wives of their sons during the years of their boyhood very valuable domestic servants, and their selections are avowedly made with a view to utility in this character."⁴ In this and other uncivilised tribes of India where not even the grown-up son is allowed to choose his mate, Hindu influence may have made itself felt. It is said

¹ Best, in *Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi. 50.

² Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 134.

³ Hunter, *Rural Bengal*, iii. 72.

⁴ Macpherson, *Memorials of Service in India*, p. 70 sq.

that among the Mundas young folk of both sexes in earlier times had a freer hand than now in the choice of their partners;¹ and it seems as if the same was the case among the Oráons.² Among most savage peoples a father has apparently little if any authority over his full-grown son,³ and the latter marries independently of his will. Sometimes parental arrangements may be a necessary consequence of the separation between the sexes. Among the Osage, according to Mr. La Flesche, "young people, unless near relatives, are not allowed to mingle or even to speak to one another. They are strictly guarded, so that no couple can arrange their own marriage affairs, and open courtship or love-making becomes impossible." A suitable maiden to be found is one who in the opinion of the young man's family would make him a good wife.⁴

Much more frequently than the young man is the young girl dependent upon somebody else's will in the choice of a partner. Although the subject of family authority among the lower races requires much further investigation, I think we may safely say that among most of them a girl is in her father's power till she marries, whilst in some instances his authority over her continues even after her marriage.⁵ Yet among various peoples the consent of a mother,⁶

¹ Sarat Chandra Roy, *Mundas*, p. 436 sq.

² Cf. Dehon, in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 161, and Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 252.

³ See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 601 sq.

⁴ La Flesche, in *American Anthropologist*, xiv. N.S. 127.

⁵ See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 601.

⁶ Bovallius, *Resa i Central-Amerika*, ii. 301 (Simoo). Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, ii. 157 (Chippewa). Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, p. 320. Hodge, *op. cit.* i. 809 (Hurons; "proposals made to the girl's mother were submitted by her to the women's council, whose decision was final among the Hurons"). Hardisty, 'Loucheux Indians,' in *Smithsonian Report*, 1866, p. 322. Meinicke, *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, ii. 407 (Ladrone Islanders). Kubary, 'Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln,' in *Mittheil. Geograph. Gesellsch. Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 260. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, p. 241 (Bogadjim). Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 177, 198 (Dieri), 217 (Wollaroi),

brother,¹ or maternal uncle² is regarded as particularly essential to a girl's marriage, and in such cases the father may even

222 (Wakelbura). Weule, *Native Life in East Africa*, p. 307 (Makua and Makonde). Draper, quoted by v. Rosen, *Träskfolket*, p. 420 (Balengæ of North-Western Rhodesia). Kaufmann, 'Die Auin. Ein Beitrag zur Buschmannforschung,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxiii. 156. Torday, quoted by Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, ii. 683 (Bahuana). Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 143.

¹ v. Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, i. 217 (Guarayos). Rivet, 'Les Indiens Jibaros,' in *L'Anthropologie*, xviii. 606. Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i. 177; Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 118; Tregear, *op. cit.* p. 293 (Maori). Percy Smith, 'Niuë Island,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* xi. 206. Marcuse, *Die Hawaiischen Inseln*, p. 108 (higher class Hawaiians). Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 217 (Wollaroi), 260 (Narrinyeri); Holden, in Taplin, *Folklore, Manners, &c. of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 17 (Maroura tribe); Newland, 'Parkengees on the Darling River,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. Australasia: South Australian Branch*, ii. 21; Lang, *Aborigines of Australia*, p. 10 sq. (natives of Moreton Bay; for brothers exchanging their sisters among the Australian natives, see also *infra*, ii. 354 sq.). Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills*, i. 190. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 201 sq. (Hos). Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 149 sq. (Bakene).

² Nicholas, 'Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. iii. 647 (Goajiros). Bartram, 'Creek and Cherokee Indians,' in *Trans. American Ethn. Soc.* vol. iii. pt. i. 65; Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, v. 268 (Creeks; the consent of the uncles, aunts, and brothers of the girls asked for). La Flèche, in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xiv. 128 (Osage; "if the parents of the girl are favourably inclined they communicate with the maternal uncle and consult him. If he gives his consent, all the other relatives agree to the proposed marriage"). Kubary, in *Mittheil. Geograph. Gesellsch. Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 260 (Mortlock Islanders). Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 195 (Australian tribes extending up the Murray River). Sarat Chandra Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxii. pt. iii. 15 sq. (in Sikkim, &c. it is necessary to arrange the marriage business not only with the parents of the girl but also with the maternal uncle). Cain, 'Bhadrachellam and Rekapalli Taluqas,' in *Indian Antiquary*, viii. 34 (Kois). Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 79 (Kallans of the Madura district). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 528 (Barea and Bazes). Delafosse, 'Le peuple Siéna ou Sénoufo,' in *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques*, i. 484. 'Negersitten,' in *Das Ausland*, liv. 1026 (Negroes of Bondo). Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, pp. 107, 142.

have little or nothing to say in the matter. The necessity of the father's or somebody else's consent, however, by no means implies that the girl is, or can be, given in marriage against her own will. And even where her wishes are not consulted, she may know how to make her influence felt. I think it is a mistake to suppose that among the lower races women are, as a rule, married without having any voice of their own in the matter. In many cases, as will be seen, their liberty of selection is, on the contrary, very considerable, apart from those already noticed in which they are actually the courters.

Among the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego, according to Bove, the father decides whom his daughter shall marry, and the daughter makes no resistance;¹ but the same traveller also speaks of the eagerness with which the women seek for young husbands and of the surprising fact that they nearly always attain their aims.² Thomas Bridges writes of the same people, "It frequently happens that there is inseparable aversion on the girl's part to her husband, and she leaves him, and if she persists in hating him she is then given to one she likes."³ Cojazzi states that among the Onas there are marriages concluded from genuine affection. The young man goes to the hut of his beloved one and, without saying a word, gives her his bow, after which he retires to some place close by to wait for an answer. The girl consults her mother before she makes up her mind. If she decides to refuse the proposal she sends back the bow by a boy, whereas if she accepts it she goes herself to the suitor with the bow in her hand. They are now considered to be married to one another without further ceremony, and the young woman accompanies her husband to his hut.⁴ A very similar statement is made by Gallardo, but according to him the suitor first receives the consent of the girl's father and then waits for the moment when he can present his bow

¹ Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132.

² *Ibid.* p. 138.

³ Bridges, 'Manners and Customs of the Firelanders,' in *A Voice for South America*, xiii. 184. Cf. King and Fitzroy, *Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 182.

⁴ Cojazzi, *Los indios del Archipiélago Fueguino*, p. 17.

to the girl.¹ These statements do not justify the opinion that the Fuegian girls are given in marriage without having themselves any voice in the matter. Among the Tehuelches of Patagonia girls are never forced to marry against their will.² The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, both men and women, are free to make their own choice of a partner, although in doing so they are influenced by their parents and friends.³ Of the Guanas it is said, "Aucune femme ne consent à se marier, sans avoir fait ses stipulations préliminaires très-détaillées avec son prétendu, et avec son père et ses parents, à l'égard de leur genre de vie réciproque."⁴ In the eighteenth century Father Sánchez Labrador wrote of the Guaycurûs that if a man wanted to marry a certain girl he only had to get her parents' and her own consent, and then took her with him to his hut.⁵ Among the Matacos, living on the shores of the Rio Bermejo and the right shore of the Pilcomayo, the consent of the parties themselves is all that is needed for the conclusion of a marriage; even the parents have nothing to say in the matter.⁶ Of the Chiriguanos of Bolivia, north-east of Tarija, we are told by Father Chomé that if one of them wanted to marry he tried to gain the favour of his beloved one by presenting her with fruit and game. He then placed a load of fuel outside her hut; if she took it in herself they were at once regarded as husband and wife, whereas if she left it where it was the man had to start afresh to find another wife.⁷ A somewhat similar ceremony is found among the Záparo Indians of Ecuador. Sometimes, it is said, the matrimonially-inclined swain goes into the woods and hunts. On his return his sport is thrown at the feet of his elect, and immediately afterwards sufficient firewood for cooking

¹ Gallardo, *Tierra del Fuego—Los Onas*, p. 215.

² Musters, *At Home with the Patagonians*, p. 186.

³ Grubb, *An Unknown People*, p. 214.

⁴ Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, ii. 92.

⁵ Sánchez Labrador, *El Paraguay Católico*, ii. 26.

⁶ Cardús, *Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia*,

p. 254.

⁷ Chomé, 'Dritter Brief an Rev. Patrem Vanthiennen,' in Stoeckleiz, *Der Neue Welt-Bott*, vol. iv. pt. xxix. 72.

it. Should the maiden arise and employ herself in cooking his game, he may consider himself an accepted suitor.¹ Among the Arawaks the young man first makes sure that he will not be refused by the object of his love, and then pays a visit to her parents. If, after his talk with them, the girl puts before him some food, she thereby shows that his proposal has been accepted, and by his eating it the marriage is concluded.² Among the Macusis young men and women who have not been betrothed as children choose themselves their partners.³ Among the Uaupés a young girl is always free to choose her husband, and the consent of both parties makes them a married couple. The fair sex enjoys the greatest liberties among them :—" Les dames prennent, laissent et reprennent leurs maris ; les demoiselles prennent, laissent et reprennent leurs amants."⁴ Among the Central Brazilian Bororó the consent of parents is not asked ; if they are opposed to the match, a fight ensues and the defeated party leaves the village.⁵ Among the Karayá, on the River Araguaya, a suitor addresses himself to the mother or parents of the girl, but it rests with the girl herself to decide whether the proposal shall be accepted or not.⁶ Speaking of the Witoto and Boro of the North-West Amazons, Mr. Whiffen says :—" In every marriage the contracting parties are allowed complete freedom of choice. This is absolute on the part of the man, and, with the rare exception of young girls adopted into a family with a view to marriage, equally so on the part of the woman."⁷

Among the Tarahumare of Mexico " the young women enjoy absolute liberty " ; ⁸ and among the Huichol they

¹ Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 173.

² Appun, in *Das Ausland*, xliv. 124. ³ *Ibid.* p. 446 sq.

⁴ Coudreau, *La France équinoxiale*, ii. 174 sq.

⁵ von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 501.

⁶ Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 29. Krause, ' Bericht über seine ethnographische Forschungsreise in Zentral-brasilien,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xli. 499. *Idem*, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 325.

⁷ Whiffen, *North-West Amazons*, p. 164.

⁸ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i. 266.

are, as a rule, able to decide their own fates. Among the latter it often happens that neither the boy nor the girl asks the parents' consent, although according to the ancient custom, still in vogue among some of them, only the old people can arrange marriages properly.¹ Among the Moqui the young are generally allowed to follow their own inclinations, and most marriages are said to be love-matches;² and of the Pueblos generally it is said that "no girl is forced to marry against her will, however eligible her parents may consider the match."³ Very similar statements are made with reference to a large number of other North American tribes—such as the Pawnee in former times,⁴ the Natchez,⁵ the Alibamu and Illinois,⁶ the Shawnee,⁷ Omaha,⁸ Kiowa,⁹ and others.¹⁰ Among the Hidatsa Indians of Dakota "girls are left much to their own choice in selecting husbands for themselves. Parents sometimes, by persuasion, but rarely by any harsh coercion, endeavour to influence a

¹ *Ibid.* p. 92 sq.

² Solberg, 'Gebräuche der Mittelmesa-Hopi (Moqui) bei Namengebung, Heirat und Tod,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxvii. 629 sq. Voth, 'Oraibi Marriage Customs,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ii. 238 sq.

³ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, i. 549 n. 206.

⁴ Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 41. *Idem*, 'Marriage among the Pawnees,' in *American Anthropologist*, iv. 275.

⁵ Le Page du Pratz, *op. cit.* p. 344.

⁶ Bossu, *Travels through Louisiana*, i. 128, 232.

⁷ Ashe, *Travels in America*, p. 249.

⁸ Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* iii. 259.

⁹ Hodge, *op. cit.* i. 809.

¹⁰ Schoolcraft, *op. cit.* v. 269 (Creeks in former times). In his book on *The Indian in his Wigwam* (p. 72) Schoolcraft asserts that marriages among North American Indians are brought about "sometimes with, and sometimes against, the wishes of the graver and more prudent relatives of the parties," the marital rite consisting chiefly in the consent of the parties. See also Catlin, *Illustrations of the Manners, &c. of the North American Indians*, i. 120; Adair, *History of the American Indians*, p. 141. Heckewelder quotes instances of Indians who committed suicide because they had been disappointed in love, the girls on whom they had fixed their choice, and to whom they were engaged, having changed their minds, and married other lovers (Buchanan, *Sketches of the History, &c. of the North American Indians*, p. 184).

daughter in the reception or rejection of an offer."¹ Among the Apache "the girls are wholly free in their choice of husbands. Parents never attempt to impose suitors upon their acceptance, and the natural coquetry of the sought-for bride is allowed full scope."² Among the Chippewa the mothers generally settle the preliminaries to marriage without consulting the children, but the parties are not considered husband and wife till they have given their consent.³ Morgan states that among the Iroquois the mother, when she considered her son of a suitable age for marriage, looked about for a maiden whom she thought likely to accord with him in disposition and temperament, and that remonstrance or objection on the part of the children was never attempted;⁴ but according to Loskiel, who wrote in the eighteenth century, the marriages of the Iroquois solely depended on the free will of the parties themselves, as there was never any compulsion in the matter.⁵ Perrot said of the Algonkin that the youth tried to gain the consent of the girl, and that only then the alliance was proposed by his parents to the girl's family.⁶ Among the Lillooet Indians, in the south-western interior of British Columbia, at a so-called "touching" dance, any man who wished a certain girl ran up to her and seized her belt or the loose end of her sash. If the girl did not want him, she pushed him off or snatched the end of her sash from his hands, and then he had to desist; whereas, if she favoured him, he danced with her, holding her by her belt or sash. When the dance was finished the chief called out the couples, who each in their turn, stepped out in front of the people; and mentioning their names he said in a loud voice, "So and so holds so and so." If the girl did not then shake

¹ Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 52.

² Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, p. 246.

³ Keating, *op. cit.* ii. 157 sq.

⁴ Morgan, *League of the Iroquois*, pp. 321, 323.

⁵ Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, i. 56.

⁶ Perrot, 'Memoir on the Manners, &c. of the Savages of North America,' in Blair, *op. cit.* i. 67 sq.

the man off, they were considered husband and wife.¹ Among the Thompson Indians, when a proposal was made to a girl's parents, a meeting of her nearest kin was called by them, and the subject of the proposed marriage discussed. If all agreed in thinking the young man a suitable person, the girl was asked whether she liked him; and we are told that she generally assented, not caring to go against the wishes of her relatives.² Among the Nootka,³ Tlingit,⁴ and Kaniagmiut,⁵ the suitor has to consult the wishes of the young lady. Of the Indians and Eskimo of the Ungava district of Labrador Mr. Turner says that if the parents of the girl have agreed and she herself refuses, she is forcibly abducted by her lover.⁶ But concerning the Point Barrow Eskimo Mr. Murdoch writes, "As well as we could judge, the marriage bond was regarded simply as a contract entered into by the agreement of the contracting parties."⁷

Among the Kamchadal,⁸ the Yurak of the Yenisei,⁹ and other uncivilised peoples of Northern as well as Central Asia¹⁰ the inclinations of a daughter are nearly always consulted when she is given in marriage. Among the Ainu young people need not marry unless they choose; even though they have been betrothed in childhood by their parents, both the young man and his *fiancée* have a final word in

¹ Teit, 'Lillooet Indians,' in *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, ii. 268.

² *Idem*, 'Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii. Anthropology, i. 322.

³ Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, p. 447.

⁴ Holmberg, 'Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika,' in *Acta Soc. Scient. Fennicæ*, iv. 314.

⁵ Sauer, *Expedition to the Northern Parts of Russia performed by Billings*, p. 177.

⁶ Turner, 'Ethnology of the Ungava District,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* xi. 270, 188.

⁷ Murdoch, 'Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* ix. 411.

⁸ Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 345.

⁹ Miss Czaplicka, *My Siberian Year*, p. 104.

¹⁰ Clarke, *Among the Tribes in South-West China*, p. 78; Gray, *China*, ii. 393 (aboriginal tribes). Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 369 (Usbeg).

the matter. If the parents raise objections to the marriage of two lovers, the latter take the law into their own hands and become husband and wife without ceremony; "and that relationship is sacred, and stands good in Ainu society."¹ Among the Yukaghir it is only after the affair has been quite settled between the young people that the lover sends a go-between to the girl's father to ask for his consent; and although a girl seldom acts in such matters against her father's will, there is really no absolute submission to paternal authority.² Among the Koryak, "though nominally the father can marry off his daughter on his own authority, he nevertheless not only consults his wife and eldest son, but often takes into consideration even the likes or dislikes of his daughter. Cases occur where the daughter does not submit to the father's or elder relative's authority in the choice of a bridegroom. Their will is not forced upon her. This attitude is also mirrored in the myths."³ According to Patkanov, a Tungus girl is free to choose her husband; and if her father does not approve of her choice, she elopes with the man she has chosen.⁴

In Dardistan "no objection to lawful love terminating in matrimony is ever made unless the girl or the boy is of a lower caste."⁵ Among the Bhotias of Almora the young ladies, when courted, "are allowed full liberty in exercising a preference."⁶ In Nepaul, says Waddell, "marriage is . . . almost always an affair of the heart. Young men and maidens become acquainted with each other, and courtships and real love-matches are the rule. Whereas, with the Indian plains-people everything is arranged by the friends, and it is seldom that the bride and bridegroom see each other before marriage."⁷ We have noticed that

¹ Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, p. 223 sq. See also v. Siebold, *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso*, p. 30.

² Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 89 sq.

³ *Idem*, *Koryak*, p. 744.

⁴ Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 105.

⁵ Leitner, *Results of a Tour in 'Dardistan,' &c.*, iii. 36.

⁶ Sherring, 'Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 106.

⁷ Waddell, *Among the Himalayas*, p. 311.

in various uncivilised tribes of India marriages are arranged by the parents of the parties ; but generally there seems to be great liberty of choice among them. The young couple often settle the affair entirely between themselves, even though it is ostensibly arranged for them ;¹ or the parents, before they give their children in marriage, consult them and, as a rule, follow their likings.² Among the Yánádis of the Nellore district in the Madras Presidency, " the parties feel free in every respect to select their future partners, whose consent is formally endorsed by the elders."³ Among the Ulladans of Travancore " a small round building is made of leaves, and inside this the bride is ensconced. All the eligible young men of the village then assemble and form a ring round the hut. At a short distance sits the girl's father or nearest male relative with tom tom in his hands, and a few more musical instruments complete the scene. . . . The young men, each armed with a bamboo, begin dancing round the hut into which each of them thrusts his stick. This continues for an hour, when the owner of whichever bamboo she seizes becomes the fortunate husband of the concealed bride. A feast then follows, and the ceremony is complete."⁴ Among the Paliyans, a nomadic tribe of the Palni Hills in South India, " the girl is free to choose a husband for herself."⁵ Among the Badagas⁶ and Kotas⁷ of

¹ Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, pp. 67, 76, 159 (Kols, Santals, Abors ; as for the Santals, cf. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 215 ; Man, *Sonthalia*, p. 102 ; Hunter, *Rural Bengal*, i. 205 sq. ; *Ymer*, v. p. xxiv.). Shortt, ' Account of the Hill Tribes of the Neilgherries,' in *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* N.S. vii. 242 (Todas ; cf. Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 212 ; Rivers, *Todas*, p. 504).

² Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 57, 91, 125 (Miris, Khasis, Koch, Muásis) Watt, ' Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvi. 358 sq. (Kolyas). Cunningham, ' Notes on Moorcroft's Travels in Ladakh,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. xiii. pt. i. 204 (Ladakhis).

³ Ranga Rao, ' Yánádis of the Nellore District,' in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 98.

⁴ Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, i. 61 sq.

⁵ Dahmen, ' Paliyans,' in *Anthropos*, iii. 27.

⁶ Hough, *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, &c. of the Neilgherries*, p. 91.

⁷ Ward, in Grigg, *Manual of the Nilgiri District*, Appendix, p. lxxvii.

the Nilgiris marriage is said to be concluded by the consent of both parties. The Bhuiyas, an Orissa hill tribe, consider it essential that the parties should have attained manhood and womanhood, and "that there should be no coercion used by parents or others, though parents and friends sometimes give advice."¹ So also the Saorias of the Rájmahal Hills require that the parties shall be "of an age to please themselves," hence there are no infant-marriages among them.² Among the Nagas "many marriages are arranged by the young people themselves on the basis of affection";³ and among the Angami Nagas "the choice lies mainly with the woman."⁴ Of the Mikirs, a Tibeto-Burman people in the Province of Assam, we are told that when the bridegroom's party come to the bride's house, her father asks his wife to inquire of the girl if she will take the lad; if the girl is reported to consent, the beer and spirits brought by the bridegroom's party are drunk by the two fathers, whereas without her consent they cannot be accepted.⁵ Concerning the Chittagong Hill tribes, Captain Lewin says that the women's "power of selecting their own husband is to the full as free as that enjoyed by our own English maidens."⁶

MacMahon states that among the Indo-Burmese border tribes in the good old times chivalry demanded that the wishes of the weaker sex should be taken into account.⁷ Among the Shans mutual consent is required to constitute a valid union;⁸ and of the Lisu tribes of the Burma-China frontier we are told that their young people "evidently

¹ Macmillan, 'Bhuiyas,' in *Calcutta Review*, ciii. 175.

² Bainbridge, 'Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, ii. 56.

³ Hodson, *Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 87.

⁴ Prain, 'Angami Nagas,' in *Revue coloniale internationale*, v. 492. Cf. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, p. 148.

⁵ Stack, *Mikirs*, p. 18.

⁶ Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 347. Cf. *ibid.* pp. 145, 146, 179, 285.

⁷ MacMahon, *Far Cathay and Farther India*, p. 275.

⁸ Anderson, *Mandalay to Momien*, p. 301. See also Woodthorpe, 'Account of the Shans and Hill Tribes of the States on the Mekong,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxvi. 22.

have a personal vote in the management of their love affairs.'¹ "In Tavay," says Low, "the Karean lover pays his addresses in form, and if the girl approves of his suit they are soon constituted a married pair by the giving of a feast to their friends."²

Among the aboriginal tribes of the Malay Peninsula the girl's consent to her marriage seems to be essential. Thus among the Sakai, according to Low, "a young man pays his addresses in person. If the girl approves, he gives a present to her family of spears, knives and household utensils."³ Of the same people Maxwell was told that when a man wanted to marry he first of all spoke to the girl and then, if she agreed, went to her father and mother, taking some jungle produce as a gift;⁴ and de Morgan states that the consent of the girl is required, together with that of her father or, if he is dead, the eldest surviving member of the family.⁵ Among the Mantra, according to Mr. Knocker, "marriage is merely a mutual compact entered into by the two parties concerned, and cohabitation is sufficient to acknowledge a man and woman as husband and wife."⁶ "The bride and bridegroom are led by one of the old men of the tribe, towards a circle more or less great, according to the presumed strength of the intended pair; the girl runs round first, and the young man pursues a short distance behind; if he succeed in reaching her and retaining her, she becomes his wife; if not, he loses all claim to her. At other times, a larger field is appointed for the trial, and they pursue one another in the forest. The race, according to the words of the chronicle, 'is not to the swift nor the battle to the strong,'

¹ Rose and Brown, 'Lisu (Yawyin) Tribes of the Burma-China Frontier,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, iii. 263.

² Low, 'Karean Tribes or Aborigines of Martaban and Tavai,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, iv. 418.

³ *Ibid.* iv. 430 sq.

⁴ [Maxwell, in] *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Straits Branch*, no. 1, 1878, p. 112.

⁵ de Morgan, 'Mœurs, &c. des Négritos de l'intérieur de la presqu'île Malaise,' in *Société normande de Géographie, Bulletin de l'année 1885*, vol. vii. 421.

⁶ Knocker, 'Aborigines of Sungei Ujong,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 293.

but to the young man who has had the good fortune to please the intended bride."¹ The same may probably be said of the following custom, which according to Malay accounts prevails among the Benua. When a marriage has been agreed upon, "the relatives of both parties assemble at the house of the bride, who is placed in a canoe by herself, supplied with a paddle, and sent down the stream. When she has got a start of one or two reaches the bridegroom enters a canoe and gives chase. Should he succeed in overtaking the fair one, she is his wife. If he fail, the match is broken off." Logan, who reports this account, thinks that it is inaccurate, although it may have some foundation in the practice of former days;² but Mr. Skeat believes that, in view of all the evidence, it may be taken as substantially correct.³

In the Malay Archipelago, according to Wilken, most marriages are contracted by the mutual consent of the parties.⁴ Moszkowski states that among the Sakai of Sumatra, when a young man desires to marry a certain girl, he mentions it to her mother, who then asks her daughter if the suitor pleases her; and if the answer is in the negative the matter drops.⁵ Among the Orang Akit, another non-Malayan tribe in the eastern part of Sumatra, if two young persons like each other they simply settle down together without much ceremony.⁶ Among the Orang Mamaq "love-sick men have only to make sure that the girls they desire consent."⁷ Of the Rindan Kubu we are told that as

¹ Bourien, 'Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula,' in *Trans. Ethnol. Soc. London*, N.S. iii. 81.

² Logan, 'Orang Binua of Johore,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, i. 270.

³ Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii. 80. Cf. *supra*, ii. 267.

⁴ Wilken, 'Plechtigeden en gebruiken bij verlovningen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ser. v. vol. i. 159.

⁵ Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 105.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 40.

⁷ Schneider, quoted by Speiser, 'Beiträge zur Ethnographie der Orang Mamma auf Sumatra,' in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* N.S. ix. 86.

soon as a young man and a girl have made up their minds to become husband and wife, they inform their respective parents about it and are then formally married to one another ; and it never happens that any obstacles are laid in their way.¹ The Battas regard the consent of the bride as by no means unessential even though she is sold ; for she is seldom compelled to marry a suitor whom she does not accept.² Among the Hill Dyaks of Borneo a girl is always allowed to "choose her partner without let or hindrance."³ The girls of the Sea Dyaks accept or refuse their lovers as they like ; "as a rule the parents of the girl approve of her choice, or they would not have allowed her to receive visits from the man."⁴ Among the Punans, a Borneo jungle tribe, "there is little or no formal arrangement of marriages by the elders on behalf of the young people."⁵ Among the Minahassers of Celebes courtship or love-making "is always strictly an affair of the heart and not in any way dependent upon the consent or even wish of the parents."⁶ Similar statements are made by Riedel with reference to some of the smaller islands.⁷

Among the Aëtas (Negritos) of the Philippines, "when a young man has made his choice, his friends or his parents make a demand for the young girl ; a refusal is never given. A day is chosen ; and on the morning of that day the young girl is sent into the forest, where she hides herself or not, just as she pleases, and according as she wishes to be married to the young man who has asked her. An hour after her departure, the young man is sent to find out his bride. If he has the good luck to find her, and to bring her back to

¹ van Dongen, quoted by Hagen, *Orang Kubu auf Sumatra*, p. 130.

² Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, ii. 132.

³ Hornaday, *Two Years in the Jungle*, p. 455.

⁴ Gomes, *Seventeen Years among the Sea Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 120 sqq. For the liberty of choice among the Dyaks see also Boyle, *Adventures among the Dyaks of Borneo*, p. 236 ; Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*, i. 69.

⁵ Hose and McDougall, *Pagan Tribes of Borneo*, ii. 183.

⁶ Hickson, *A Naturalist in North Celebes*, p. 272.

⁷ Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 302 (Tenimber and Timorlaut)

her parents before sunset, the marriage is concluded, and she becomes his wife without fail; but if, on the contrary, he returns to the camp without her, he is not allowed to renew his addresses."¹ Among the Li of Hainan parents have nothing else to do with the betrothals of their children than to ratify them; it is the inclinations of the parties themselves that decide the matter.² In most of the savage tribes of Formosa there is great freedom of marriage for both sexes.³ Among the Tsous the young brave presents to the lady of his choice an ornamental hair-pin made of deer-horn, and the acceptance of the gift signifies consent.⁴ Among the Paiwans he goes to her house with fuel and water, which he places before the door, and if the damsel puts them to the use for which they are intended it means that he is accepted.⁵

In the Mortlock Islands most marriages depend on the free choice of the parties.⁶ In the Oleaï Islands, situated between the Pelew Islands and the Marshall Group, even many a well-to-do suitor fails to gain the girl he desires for the simple reason that she refuses his proposal.⁷ Of some of the Marshall Islanders it is said that "marriages depend on a free convention."⁸ Love-matches are frequent in many parts of New Guinea.⁹ In the Massim area courtship consists of more or less prolonged cohabitation; the proposal, as we have seen, comes from the girl; and it is

¹ Proust de la Girondière, *Twenty Years in the Philippines*, p. 271 sq. Piehler, 'Die Ajitas (Aëtas) der Philippinen,' in *Globus*, xcvi. 201. Concerning the Negritos of Zambales, however, see *infra*, ii. 312.

² Strzoda, 'Die Li auf Hainan,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 203.

³ Davidson, *op. cit.* pp. 569, 571, 575, 577, 581 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 571.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 575.

⁶ Kubary, in *Mittheil. Geograph. Gesellsch. Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 261.

⁷ Born, 'Einige Betrachtungen ethnographischer Natur über die Oleaï-Inseln,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xvii. 189.

⁸ v. Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea*, iii. 172.

⁹ Landtman, *Nya Guinea färdens*, p. 84 (Kiwai Papuans). Vetter, 'Bericht über papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse,' in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 90 (Jabim).

evidently very unusual for parents to make any difficulties.¹ It is also obvious that the consent of the girl is of essential importance among the Mafulu mountain people² and at Bogadjim.³ The same is the case in New Britain and neighbouring smaller islands;⁴ Romilly states that after the man has worked for years to pay for his wife and is finally in a position to take her to his house, she may refuse to go, and he cannot claim back from the parents the large sums he has paid them in yams, cocoa-nuts, and sugar-canes.⁵ In New Caledonia "lorsqu'un jeune homme se présente pour épouser une jeune fille, il n'est pas rare qu'il éprouve un refus, s'il n'est pas chef ou d'un sang noble, et il arrive quelquefois que, par suite de refus successifs, il est réduit à rester célibataire. Si la jeune fille agréé la demande, le mariage se conclut immédiatement, sans autres cérémonies. Les parents ne sont pas toujours consultés; il arrive souvent aussi que des parents font le mariage de leurs enfants sans les consulter."⁶ In Samoa, where marriages were frequently arranged by the parents without any reference to the woman's feelings, the latter was at any rate "sometimes able to follow her own inclination or affection"; and among the higher ranks it occurred that the messengers of three or four rival suitors were for some time struggling for the prize amidst much coquetting on the part of the fair one, until at length she formally announced her choice.⁷ In Arorae, of the Gilbert Group, "in choosing a husband the

¹ Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 499, 502, 503. 708 sq.

² Williamson, *Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 172.

³ Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, p. 241 sq.

⁴ Parkinson, *op. cit.* pp. 65, 160. Hahl, *loc. cit.* p. 78. Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 99. Vogel, *Eine Forschungsreise im Bismarck-Archipel*, p. 223. Cf. Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 55.

⁵ Romilly, 'Islands of New Britain Group,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. N.S.* ix. 10.

⁶ Branne, *La Nouvelle-Calédonie*, p. 251. Cf. Moncelon, in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr. Paris*, ser. iii. vol. ix. 368.

⁷ Stair, *Old Samoa*, p. 171 sqq. Krämer says (*Die Samoa-Inseln*, i. 39) that the girl must submit to the will of her relatives.

lady sat in the lower room of the house, and over her head were let down through the chinks of the floor of the upper room two or three cocoa-nut leaflets, the ends of which were held by her lovers. She pulled at one, and asked whose it was. If the reply was not in the voice of the young man she wished to have, she left it and pulled at another leaf, and another, until she found him, and then pulled it right down. The happy man whose leaf she pulled down sat still, while the others slunk away."¹ Mariner supposed that in Tonga perhaps two-thirds of the girls had married with their own free consent.² In the Society Islands the women of the middle and lower ranks had the power to choose husbands according to their own wishes; and that the women of the highest classes sometimes asserted the same right appears from the addresses a chief of Eimeo had to pay to the object of his attachment before she could be induced to accept his offer.³ In Nukahiva "la femme est libre; elle choisit en quelque sorte de son plein gré celui qui sera son époux, pendant un temps plus ou moins limité."⁴ Among the Maori, according to Mr. Tregear, "there were three kinds of courtship, the annual or parliamentary form, arrangement between relatives, and free choice." The first took place at a solemn gathering in "the House of Amusement," but the young men and girls selected each other there also. Yet, he adds, "freedom of choice could hardly be allowed in cases where tribal alliances might be cemented, or powerful families conciliated. Where freedom of choice was exerted among young men and girls of high birth the result was generally a romance."⁵ On the other hand, as we have seen, even when the families or clans of the parties took an active part in the matter, the consent of the girl was required.⁶ Thomson wrote of the Maori:—"Girls not betrothed in childhood were allowed, on growing up, to bestow their favours on

¹ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 295 sq.

² Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, ii. 167.

³ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 270, 267 sq. Cf. Waitz-Gerland, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. 99 sq.

⁴ Vincendon-Dumoulin and Desgraz, *Iles Marquises ou Nukahiva*, p. 287. ⁵ Tregear, *op. cit.* p. 286 sqq. ⁶ *Supra*, ii. 281.

whom they pleased. The more suitors they had, the more valuable were they reckoned. Should a girl have a preference for one of her suitors, and particularly on becoming *enceinte*, she went home with him, and they lived as man and wife."¹ Mr. Macmillan Brown speaks of "the romance that hung round youthful love in all their legends, arguing great independence in the daughter of the household."² And in a Maori proverb it is said, "As a kahawai (a fish which is very particular in selecting the hook that most resembles its food) selects the hook which pleases it best out of a great number, so also a woman chooses one man out of many."³ Among the Moriori of the Chatham Islands a girl who had been betrothed by her parents without regard for her own feelings, if determined and obstinate, generally had her own way.⁴

In most Australian tribes a girl seems to be given in marriage by her father or some other relative⁵ or the camp council or leading men without having herself any voice in the matter.⁶ But we also hear of attempts to gain the

¹ Thomson, *Story of New Zealand*, i. 177.

² Brown, *Maori and Polynesian*, p. 67.

³ Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui*, p. 299.

⁴ Shand, in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* vi. 148.

⁵ The other relative may be her mother, brother, or maternal uncle (see *supra*, ii. 284 sq. nn. 6, 1 sq.). Among the Yerkla-mining "it is the father who gives his daughter, but he may be overruled by his elder brother, especially if the latter has the support of the principal, that is, the oldest medicine-man of the local group" (Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 257 sq.), and in the Mukjarawaint tribe living in the northern parts of the Grampian mountains the paternal grandparents had a voice in the disposal of their granddaughter (*ibid.* p. 243).

⁶ This is implied in many statements and expressly said, e.g., by Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 108; *Idem*, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, p. 248; Beveridge, *Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 22; Holden, in Taplin, *Folklore, Manners, &c. of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 17 (Maroura tribe, Lower Darling); Gason, 'Dieyerie, &c.,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 170; Schulze, 'Aborigines of the Upper and Middle Finke River,' in *Trans. and Proceed. Roy. Soc. South Australia*, xiv. 236; Wilhelmi, 'Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District,' in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, v. 179; Petrie, *Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, p. 59.

girl's consent by courting ;¹ and " the use of love letters is perfectly understood by the Kabi natives of Queensland."² Concerning the Narrinyeri Mr. Taplin says that although the consent of a female is not considered a matter of the first importance, yet it is always regarded as desirable.³ We shall see that the women in Australian tribes practically enjoy a greater liberty of choice than might be supposed, owing to the frequency of marriage by elopement, which is quite a recognised institution among them. Of the Tasmanians it is said that they courted with flowers, and that " the female occasionally possessed a negative."⁴

In Madagascar there are tribes where young people have perfect liberty to choose their partners, although in others girls are given in marriage without being consulted, or matches are arranged by the parents of both parties according to their own will.⁵ Thus " all matrimonial connections among the Sakalava are contracted by the individuals themselves, and not by the ordering of the parents, as is the custom among the Hova and Bètsilèo."⁶ Among the Bushman tribes we find pairing by mutual consent ;⁷ " in general," says Mr. McCall Theal, " there was no marriage ceremony, the mere consent of both parties being all that was needed."⁸ According to earlier writers on the Bushmen⁹ and Hottentots,¹⁰ the lover of a girl who has grown

¹ Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 232 sq. (Kulin of Victoria). Eylmann, *Die Eingeborenen d'r Kolonie Südaustralien*, p. 129.

² Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 114.

³ Taplin, ' Narrinyeri,' in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 10. ⁴ West, *History of Tasmania*, ii. 78 sq.

⁵ Grandidier, *op. cit.* ii. 166.

⁶ Walen, in *Antananarivo Annual*, no. viii. (1884) p. 54.

⁷ Stow, *Native Races of South Africa*, p. 96 sq.

⁸ Theal, *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 47. Cf. Kaufmann, ' Die Auin,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxiii. 156.

⁹ Burchell, *Travels in the Interior of Southern Africa*, ii. 59. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 258. Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 444.

¹⁰ Thunberg, ' Account of the Cape of Good Hope,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 141. Le Vaillant, *Travels from the Cape of Good-Hope, into the Interior Parts of Africa*, ii. 67.

up to womanhood without being previously betrothed must gain her approbation as well as that of the parents. Among the Hottentots of the Korana clans, "when a young man is attached to a female, and wishes to marry her, he and his companions take an ox and place it before her house. If she allow the ox to be killed, it is considered as giving her consent to the union, and the parties are immediately regarded as married persons. It occasionally happens that the ox is brought three or four times before her approval is obtained."¹ Von François contrasts the right of the young Hottentot girl to accept or refuse the proposal of a suitor with the power of a Herero father to dispose of his daughter's hand even against her inclination, although he adds that among the Herero also the will of the girl often decides the matter.² Among the Kafirs a woman is frequently forced to marry against her wish; "yet it is undoubtedly true that most good-tempered Kafir girls can, as a rule, get out of a hateful marriage," whereas girls who are self-assertive and strong-willed may find difficulty, since men like to tame such characters and teach them lessons.³ Among the Xosa Kafirs, although the father selects a husband for his daughter, the latter can by strongly opposing his choice make the marriage contract invalid.⁴ In his book on the Zulus and Amatongas Mr. Leslie remarks that it is "a mistake to imagine that a girl is sold by her father in the same manner, and with the same authority, with which he would dispose of a cow."⁵ Among the Barotse "free women who have not been given away or sold as slaves are allowed to choose what husbands they please."⁶ Among the Mpfumo clan of the Thonga "a father very seldom obliges his daughter to accept a husband

¹ Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Second Journey*, ii. 347.

² v. François, *Nama und Damara Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika*, pp. 213, 195.

³ Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 220 sq. According to Maclean (*Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs*, p. 69), the Kafir girl is seldom or never consulted about the matter.

⁴ Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 141.

⁵ Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*, p. 194.

⁶ Holub, *Seven Years in South Africa*, ii. 293, 298. Cf. *ibid.* ii. 206.

whom she dislikes, except in the case of debts."¹ In the Ruwuma district of "German East Africa" the decision rests with the girl.² Among the Wakonde she "is at perfect liberty to choose her husband."³ Among the Sango the consent of the girl is necessary; if her parents want to give her in marriage against her will she appeals to the chief, who as a rule decides the case in her favour.⁴ When a Shambaa wishes to marry a certain girl he first tries to gain her favour, and, if successful, is then introduced by her to her father, whose consent is likewise necessary; a grown-up girl is never compelled by her father to marry a man she does not like.⁵ Among the Wayao "girls are not in reality so passive in the matter as we are apt to assume, but most certainly expect to have their wishes consulted; and many a carefully-planned match has come to nothing merely because the girl loved another man. In this respect," Dr. Weule adds, "there is not the slightest difference between white and black."⁶ In British Central Africa, "when a man takes a fancy to a girl whom he finds to be disengaged, he first of all comes to an understanding with her, then goes to her village and tells her family—all the relations, including the grandparents, the elder brother, and above all, the maternal uncle, are consulted, as well as the parents—and, if they have no objection, he then goes to his own people."⁷

Among the East African Wagirama and Wasania the girl's consent is required.⁸ Among the Akamba, "if a young

¹ Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 103. See also *Idem*, *Les Ba-Ronga*, p. 31.

² Fülleborn, *Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet*, p. 60.

³ v. Behr, 'Die Völker zwischen Rufiji und Rovuma,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* vi. 74. See also Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 346.

⁴ Heese, 'Sitte und Brauch der Sango,' in *Archiv f. Anthropol.* N.S. xii. 135 sq.

⁵ Dahlgrün, 'Heiratsgebräuche der Schambaa,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xvi. 219, 224.

⁶ Weule, *Native Life in East Africa*, p. 306.

⁷ Miss Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 131. See also Stannus, 'Notes on some Tribes of British Central Africa,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* xl. 308.

⁸ Barrett, 'Notes on the Customs and Beliefs of the Wa-Girama, etc., British East Africa,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* xli. 20, 21, 30.

man sees a girl he fancies he will talk to her now and again, and eventually tell her he wants to marry her. If she acquiesces his father goes to her father and asks him if he agrees and if he does then the youth's father returns with a present of two goats; this ratifies the bargain."¹ In many of their families the betrothal of infants is practised, but "when a girl comes of age she is at liberty to refuse a proffered husband if she does not like him," even though the dowry has all been paid up in advance.² The same is the case among the Akikúyu. Among them "a girl's betrothal is entirely her own affair," and if—as occasionally happens—bespoken as a child by some older and wealthy man, she is not obliged to marry him on coming to years of discretion. When Mrs. Routledge asked the leading wife of one of their chiefs what she should tell the English women about the women of Kikúyu, the answer was:—"Tell them two things. One is, that we never marry any one we do not want to; and the other is, that we like our husbands to have as many wives as possible."³ If a Masai girl strongly objects to marrying a man who wants her, her parents do not force her to become his wife.⁴ Of the Batamba in the Uganda Protectorate we are told that a girl up to her fifteenth year has no say whatever in the matter of marriage, but that beyond this age she may make her choice.⁵ Among the Baganda a man who desired to marry a special girl addressed himself to her brother, who in his turn informed his paternal uncle and consulted with him; but the uncle asked the girl whether she wished to marry the man or not, and she had now an opportunity for either accepting or rejecting him.⁶ So also among the Bakene—a small Bantu tribe dwelling in floating huts on the Mpologoma River and some neighbouring lakes where the Nile has its sources—"the girl has the right to accept or reject a man's offer";

¹ Hopley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba and other East African Tribes*, p. 62.

² Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 490.

³ Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 124, 125, 127.

⁴ Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 71.

⁵ Condon, 'Contribution to the Ethnology of the Basoga-Batamba,' in *Anthropos*, vi. 370 sq.

⁶ Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 87 sq.

and among the Basoga, in the Eastern Province of the Uganda Protectorate, she has an opportunity to decide the question of marriage for herself.¹ Among the Lendu of Uganda "the custom is for the young man to propose to the young woman, and if she accepts him, he then applies to her father."² In the Sese Archipelago, in the Victoria Nyanza, "marriages are easily arranged. The girl takes her lover to her father. If she is old enough to marry, she proceeds at once to her new home"; and afterwards cows are paid. This, at any rate, was the old custom.³ Among the Bavuma—inhabiting the large island of Buvuma off the north coast of the Victoria Nyanza—"the unmarried woman is a very independent being, and submits to no control, especially in her love affairs. This is the only people," says Mr. Cunningham, "I have met where the father has nothing whatever to do with arranging a marriage for his daughter. She it is who is asked directly by her lover whether she will marry him, and, if she consents, such consent constitutes the whole of the marriage ceremony, and she proceeds straightway to her new home with her husband. If the consent is given whilst she is even temporarily away from home, she does not take the trouble of informing her parents that she has accepted a husband."⁴ The Mádi girls, says Emin Pasha, enjoy great freedom, and are able to choose companions to their liking.⁵ Among the Shulis, according to Dr. Felkin, the women have a voice in the selection of their husbands.⁶ No Dinka girl is obliged to marry a man against her will.⁷

Among the Batua, a Pygmy people of the Belgian Congo, a father gives his daughters perfect liberty to choose their husbands.⁸ Among the Warega "il est rare que l'on demande une jeune fille en mariage sans s'être entendu d'abord

¹ *Idem*, *Northern Bantu*, pp. 149, 211 sq.

² Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 328. ³ *Ibid.* pp. 92, 94.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 129.

⁵ *Emin Pasha in Central Africa*, p. 103.

⁶ Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, ii. 61.

⁷ O'Sullivan, 'Dinka Laws and Customs,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 180.

⁸ Hutereau, *Notes sur la Vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 3.

avec elle."¹ Among the Boloki, on the Upper Congo, if a girl has not been given away in her early childhood, she has evidently her say in the matter.² Among the Bangongo the most usual method of concluding a marriage is that the couple meet in the bush, and the young man makes his proposal, the acceptance of which is immediately followed by consummation; afterwards negotiations are made with the parents of the girl, and the bride price is paid. The woman's consent is regarded as necessary.³ Grenfell states that among the Bakongo marriage usually takes place by mutual consent, "so that there are marriages of affection."⁴ As to the West African Negroes, Winwood Reade informed Darwin that "the women, at least among the more intelligent Pagan tribes, have no difficulty in getting the husbands whom they may desire, although it is considered unwomanly to ask a man to marry them."⁵ Among some of the Ibo-speaking people of Nigeria, "as soon as the girl is six or eight she will be consulted and if she declares that she does not like her suitor her father will wait until she makes her choice, and will repay the first suitor from the monies handed over by the second suitor."⁶ Among the Yoruba-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast "parents cannot force a daughter to marry a suitor who is distasteful to her, but they can prevent a girl from marrying a man of whom they do not approve. . . . If, however, she runs off with him, they usually take no further trouble."⁷ So also among the

¹ Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 170.

² Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 123.

³ Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, p. 115. See also *ibid.* pp. 113, 272; Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, p. 134 (Bayaka).

⁴ Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, ii. 678.

⁵ Darwin, *Descent of Man*, ii. 408. See also Reade, *Savage Africa*, pp. 260, 390, 453, 554; Beecham, *Ashantee and the Gold Coast*, p. 125; Bosman, 'New Description of the Coast of Guinea,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 419 (Negroes of the Gold Coast); Merolla da Sorrento, 'Voyage to Congo and several other Countries,' *ibid.* xvi. 236 (Negroes of Sogno); Soyaux, *Aus West-Afrika*, pp. 152, 161 (Negroes of Loango).

⁶ Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, iv. 63. See also *ibid.* i. 62.

⁷ Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 185.

Ewhe-speaking peoples a girl "cannot be forced into a union that is absolutely repugnant to her," although marriage is as a rule arranged without any reference to her wishes.¹ Among the Bambara of the Ivory Coast a woman cannot be married without her consent, and of the Baoulé we are told that if a girl consents to a proposal her parents also invariably agree unless there are particular reasons for not doing so.² Among the Baya "il y a des unions projetées entre les parents dès le plus jeune âge de leurs enfants. . . . D'autres fois, au contraire, les enfants se sont spontanément choisis. Les parents n'auront plus, à un certain âge, qu'à ajouter leur consentement à cette union d'inclination, à moins de voir naître des désordres."³ Among the Bali tribes of Kamerun the conclusion of a marriage depends either upon the free choice of the parties, or upon the agreement of the parents (not infrequently before the birth of the children), or upon pure purchase.⁴ Among the ancient inhabitants of the Canary Islands the lover asked his bride of her father, who referred the decision to her.⁵

These statements are sufficient to show that in the savage world the consent of the woman to her marriage is very frequently, not only asked as a matter of fact, but even required by custom. There are no doubt many instances to the contrary as well; but from my collection of data I have come to the conclusion that these are less numerous than those in which the woman's wishes are, or must be, consulted. A similar inference may be drawn from the list compiled by Messrs. Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg,

¹ *Idem*, *Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 199. Bowdich says (*Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee*, p. 303), "No Ashantee forces his daughter to become the wife of the man he wishes, but he instantly disclaims her support and protection on her refusal."

² Clozel and Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, pp. 318, 101.

³ Poupon, 'Étude ethnographique des Baya de la circonscription du M'Bimou,' in *L'Anthropologie*, xxvi. 126.

⁴ Hutter, *Wanderungen und Forschungen im Nord-Hinterland von Kamerun*, p. 379.

⁵ Alice C. Cook, 'Aborigines of the Canary Islands,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ii. 479.

recording 103 cases in which the woman's consent appears to be generally required and 81½ in which it is not required.¹ As to the circumstances influencing the matter, we may without the slightest hesitation make the negative statement that her liberty of choice among the lower races has not increased in proportion to their advancement in culture. Professor Hobhouse and his collaborators give the following figures representing the percentage of cases in which the woman's consent is not required among simpler peoples at different stages of economic culture: among lower hunters and food-collectors 0·71, among higher hunters 0·44, among incipient agriculturists 0·22, among lower pastoral peoples 0·65, among pure agriculturists 0·38, among higher pastoral peoples 0·86, and among cattle-keeping agriculturists 0·30. The first of these figures, referring to lower hunters, however, is of little value. It is based on 8½ cases of consent required and 21 cases of consent not required, but 3 of the former and 18 of the latter refer to Australian tribes.² So far as my knowledge goes, there is not a single Australian tribe of which it can be said that the woman's consent to her marriage is required, although it may be held desirable, especially as a safeguard against elopement. But, as has been pointed out before, the various Australian tribes can certainly not be treated as independent units in a statistical investigation following the lines adopted by Professor Hobhouse and his collaborators.³ The other three negative cases in their list refer to the Shoshoni, Fuegians, and Bush-

¹ Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, *Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 157. The scorn with which Mr. Finck (*Primitive Love and Love-Stories*, p. 338 sqq.) treats my statement that "it would be a mistake to suppose that among the lower races women are as a rule married without having any voice of their own in the matter" seems thus to be rather undeserved.

² Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, *Op. cit.* p. 176 sqq.

³ Our authors speak of North West Australians, Victoria tribes, and the Bangerang as requiring the woman's consent. For the Bangerang reference is made to Curr, who, however, says the very reverse (*Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, p. 248 sq.), namely, that "the bride had no voice in the matter, but was simply required to go to the hut of the man to whom her father, brother, or uncle, as the case might be, had given her."

men. As to the Shoshoni, it is doubtful whether they should be reckoned among the lower hunters; and statements quoted above hardly justify the assumption that the woman's consent is not required among the Fuegians and Bushmen. Some other tribes at about the same stage of economic culture, like the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula and the Negritos of the Philippines, whom we have also mentioned before, have not, in this connection at least, been noticed by our authors. Concerning the Pygmy tribes generally, Father Schmidt, in his monograph on them, observes that both sexes enjoy a remarkable degree of liberty in the selection of partners.¹ This may in fact be said of all or nearly all the lower hunters, with the exception of the Australian tribes, as also of the great bulk of incipient agriculturists, many of whom can hardly be distinguished from the lowest hunting and food-collecting tribes.

If the Australian natives are excepted, the woman's liberty of choice may thus be said to be decidedly greater among the lowest savages than among the more advanced savages. It is greater among the lower hunters than among the higher hunters, greater among the incipient agriculturists than among the pure and the cattle-keeping agriculturists, greater among the lower pastoral tribes than among the higher pastoral tribes, and greater among the hunters and agriculturists as a whole than among the pastoral peoples. This is borne out both by my own collection of facts and by that of Professor Hobbhouse and his collaborators, although their general conclusions are somewhat different owing to their inclusion of the Australian tribes, which in my opinion must be dealt with separately. How shall we explain these facts?

There can be little doubt that among the lower races marriage by purchase is the principal cause of the giving away of a girl in marriage without any regard for her own wishes. Among the lower hunters the liberty of choice goes hand in hand with a general absence of marriage by purchase; small gifts may be presented to the father or

¹ Schmidt, *Die Stellung der Pygmäenvölker in der Entwicklungsgeschichte des Menschen*, p. 169 sqq.

the family of the girl, but they cannot be regarded as a bride price in the proper sense of the word. So far as savage peoples at other stages of economic culture are concerned, I find in the tables given by Professor Hobhouse and his collaborators that among 69 cases of marriage by purchase there are 42 in which the woman's consent is not required and only 27 in which it is required, whilst out of all cases in which something is said about her consent it is required in 94 cases and not required in 59. Thus marriage by purchase prevails in 80 per cent. of the cases in which the woman's consent is not required and only in 30 per cent. of the cases in which it is required. My own collection of facts shows a still more frequent coincidence between the absence of marriage by purchase and freedom of choice. Out of the cases mentioned above there are at least 130 in which the woman's liberty of choice seems to be very great, even though it is not positively said in all of them that her consent is indispensable; and only in 21 of these cases—that is, 16 per cent.—I find clear evidence of genuine marriage by purchase. In these calculations, however, the lower hunters are also taken into account, and this makes the percentage somewhat smaller than it would otherwise be. The majority of cases in which liberty of choice is combined with actual purchase come from Africa (14 out of 21), whilst in other African cases the prevalence of marriage by purchase is expressly denied although the man does not get his bride for nothing.¹

That there is a close connection between marriage by purchase and disregard for the woman's own wishes is also directly indicated by many observers. In East Mallicolo, one of the New Hebrides, the father offers his daughter to the highest bidder, and receives for her ten pigs at least.² Among the Battas of Sumatra it sometimes happens that an exceptionally high offer induces the parents to give their

¹ Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 61 (natives of the Ruwuma district). Weule, *op. cit.* p. 306 (Wayao). Delhaise, *op. cit.* p. 173 (Warega). Henry, *L'dme d'un peuple africain*, p. 203 (Bambara).

² Serbelov, 'Social Position of Men and Women among the Natives of East Malekula, New Hebrides,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xv. 278.

daughter in marriage against her will.¹ Among the Negritos of Zambales, in Luzon, "a daughter is regarded as an asset of so much value, not to be parted with until that price is paid, and, while she is allowed some freedom in the choice of a husband, parental pressure usually forces her to the highest bidder."² In the Chin Hills, on the southern borders of Assam and Manipur, parents practically sell their daughters to be wives, and love is not taken into consideration at all.³ Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, who have marriage by purchase, no father thinks it necessary to consult his daughter before selling her, whereas among the Arabs of the eastern plain, the Aeneze, &c., according to Burckhardt, "the father never receives the price of the girl, and therefore some regard is paid to her inclinations."⁴ In Ruanda, in East Africa, a girl may express her reluctance against a suitor, but the decision rests in the last instance with her father, and the scale of his favour is almost without exception turned by the highest offer.⁵ Among the Thonga of South-East Africa, a girl to be married is in principle entirely at the mercy of her family as regards the choice of her husband. It is true that her consent is generally asked before any decision takes place, but this is done only as long as the male masters of the woman have no special interest in the choice. "Should they have reason to impose a certain husband upon her, they will not hesitate to force her to accept him; a young girl will be given up to a dirty old man, for whom she has no sympathy, on account of a *lobola* (that is, bride price) debt of twenty years standing."⁶ Among the Angoni Zulus, who formerly allowed a girl to choose her husband, the father does not nowadays as a rule consult her wishes, but sells her to the man who offers him the largest number of oxen.⁷ In most parts of the territory of the Edo-speaking people in Nigeria it appears to be rare

¹ Junghuhn, *op. cit.* ii. 132. ² Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 56.

³ Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills*, i. 189.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 149 sq.

⁵ Schumacher, 'Das Eherecht in Ruanda,' in *Anthropos*, vii. 6.

⁶ Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 264.

⁷ Wiese, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich der Angoni,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxii. 191.

to put pressure upon a girl to marry a suitor to whom she objects ; but in the Sobo country, says Mr. Thomas, " owing possibly to the considerably higher money payments as part of the bride price, and to the consequent greater difficulty of refunding the bride price, it appears to be the custom to compel a girl to accept a suitor."¹ Of the Dakota Indians it is said that a lover sometimes " buys his wife without her consent."² Concerning the Pawnee Mr. Grinnell writes :— " In the olden times, before they had horses, when their dogs, their simple arms, and their clothing constituted all their possessions, the Pawnees married for love. The affection which existed between two young people was then the only motive which brought about a union, and this affection was seldom interfered with unless there was a very great difference between the social standing of the family of the boy and of the girl. . . . After the Pawnees obtained horses and began to accumulate property—as the people acquired wealth, and their circumstances became easier—the practice arose of giving presents to the immediate relatives of the girl whose hand was sought in marriage. These presents were given in order to conciliate those relations who controlled the girl. Originating merely in this desire to gain the good will of her family, the custom gradually became more and more firmly established until it had come to be a matter of course to give presents, and finally a matter of necessity if the young man hoped to gain the consent of the girl's family to his proposal of marriage."³ Mr. Matthews says that travellers who speak of the " marriage by purchase " among the Indians as a mere sale of the woman to the highest bidder misrepresent the custom, " unless where their remarks may apply to some modern irregularities among the least reputable persons."⁴ We are told that among the Creeks, if a man desires to make a woman his wife " conformably to the more ancient and

¹ Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 58 sq.

² Mary Eastman, *Dahcotah*, p. 106.

³ Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 41.

⁴ Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 52.

serious custom of the country," he endeavours to gain her own consent by regular courtship.¹

Now we are in a position to explain why progress in economic culture has among the lower races been unfavourable to the woman's liberty of choosing her husband. It has led to marriage by purchase, and this has tended to restrict her liberty. Whilst marriage by purchase hardly occurs among the lower hunters and is rare among incipient agriculturists, it is more frequently found among higher hunters and especially among pure and cattle-keeping agriculturists; it is more prevalent among higher pastoral tribes than among lower pastoral tribes, and, though very frequent among the higher agriculturists, it is more prevalent among the pastoral tribes as a whole than among the agricultural tribes. The development of marriage by purchase thus follows the same lines as the restriction of the woman's liberty of choice to an extent which makes it impossible to doubt that there has been a causal connection between them. But it is worth noticing that among the agricultural peoples there are a comparatively larger number of cases in which marriage by purchase is combined with freedom of choice than among hunters and pastoral tribes. Out of 49 agricultural peoples mentioned in Professor Hobhouse's tables who have marriage by purchase, 24, that is 47 per cent., consider the woman's consent to her marriage necessary and 25 do not consider it necessary, whereas out of 20 higher hunting and pastoral peoples who have marriage by purchase only 3, that is 15 per cent., require her consent and 17 do not do so; and out of 27 cases in which marriage by purchase is combined with obligatory consent, 24, or 89 per cent., refer to agricultural peoples and only 3 to higher hunters and pastoral tribes. The result derived from my own collection of facts is very similar: out of 21 cases of combined marriage by purchase and liberty of choice 18, or 87 per cent., refer to agriculturists and 3 to higher hunters and pastors; but as in one of the latter cases the woman's liberty of choice is somewhat doubtful, the percentage of the cases referring to agriculturists should here also perhaps be 89.

¹ Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, v. 269.

We may assume, however, that advancement in economic culture has exercised an unfavourable influence upon the woman's liberty of choice not only by giving rise to marriage by purchase, but for another reason as well. By leading to accumulation of property and the distinction between richer and poorer people it naturally increases the interest which the family takes in the marriage of its members, and its head becomes less willing to allow individual inclinations to have their free play. Speaking of the Hottentots, among whom the first youth who could gain a girl's affections readily obtained the consent of her parents, Le Vaillant observes that in a country where there is no difference in birth or rank and all the schemes for heaping fortune on fortune in the same coffer are utterly unknown, "parents have not a single motive which can tempt them to oppose those sentiments of predilection, which their children may form for one object in preference to another."¹ So also we are told that among the Moqui, or Mittelmesa-Hopi, most marriages are love-matches because the differences in wealth are so insignificant that from the family's point of view it is a matter of little moment whom its members marry.² But the case may be different among tribes where there are rich and poor and inheritance is an important source of increasing wealth.

In our discussion of the circumstances which have interfered with savage women's liberty to choose their husbands we have so far taken no notice of the Australian aborigines, who, contrary to the lower hunters in other parts of the world, generally seem to allow their women no voice at all in the matter. Marriage by ordinary purchase does not exist among them, although the man may have to make small presents of game or weapons to the kindred of his bride. Schulze speaks of betrothals made from mercenary motives, a father promising his little daughter to a man who is many years older than the *fiancée* since "it is seemly that the son-in-law prove himself grateful by frequently handing over to his father-in-law and his bride part of his hunting

¹ Le Vaillant, *op. cit.* ii. 67 sq.

² Solberg, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxvii. 629.

booty, and helping thus to provide for him in his old age."¹ But the chief reasons for the compulsion to which the Australian women are subject are undoubtedly the exceptionally great prevalence of infant-betrothals; the habit of the old men of appropriating to themselves the comeliest women; and the custom of procuring a wife by the exchange of a sister or other female relative, which gives the woman no voice in the matter whether the barter takes place in her infancy or at a later age. These customs are connected with the extraordinary tyranny exercised by the old men and the great difficulties the younger men experience in getting wives, or young wives, in any other peaceful way than by infant-betrothals or the exchange of related females. Hence the utter disregard of the woman's wishes among the Australian natives is due to particular circumstances of an essentially local character and can by no means be regarded as a survival from a more primitive stage than that represented by the other lower hunters, whose social organisation is certainly of a less developed type than that of the best known Australian tribes. Professor Hobhouse and his collaborators say that it is only with some hesitation that they have included the whole of the Australians in the class of lower hunters,² and I fully share their hesitation. In view of all these facts it is impossible to agree with Letourneau in his sweeping statement that during a very long period woman was married without her wishes being at all consulted.³ There is, on the contrary, every reason to believe that in primitive ages she was much freer in her choice of partner than she is now in the Australian tribes and among many other savages on a higher level of culture.

It should be added that even where custom, strictly speaking, gives to the woman no voice in the matter she may nevertheless possess means of preventing a marriage which is distasteful to her or of breaking one which has been forced upon her against her will. She may enlist the

¹ Schulze, 'Aborigines of the Upper and Middle Finke River,' in *Trans. and Proceed. Roy. Soc. South Australia*, xiv. 236.

² Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, *op. cit.* p. 18.

³ Letourneau, *Sociology*, p. 378.

sympathy of her mother or other female relatives, whose intervention would prevail upon the father to change his mind.¹ Among the Xosa Kafirs she can on the day fixed for the wedding render the marriage contract null and void by smearing herself with human excrement, which induces her father to return the cattle paid for her.² The meaning of this custom is not stated, but I presume that there is at the bottom of it some superstition similar to that which Berber girls in Morocco sometimes employ as a weapon against an objectionable proposal. Among the Aith Sáddën in the neighbourhood of Fez, when the young man's mother, accompanied by some other women, comes to the house or tent of the girl's parents to let them know that her husband intends to sue for their daughter on behalf of his son, it lies in the girl's power to influence the proceedings although she is not at all consulted in the matter. If she is fond of the young man she dresses herself in fine clothes and sits down with the women, trying to be as attractive as possible; on the other hand, if she dislikes him she makes use of bad and ominous words which should not be mentioned on this occasion,³ or she behaves like a woman at a funeral, scratching her face and dirtying herself with cowdung. The result of this may be that no further steps are taken, for fear lest a marriage arranged in such circumstances should be unlucky. Moreover, it has sometimes happened in the same tribe that the girl has prevented the proposed marriage by running away on this occasion, or on the day of the intended wedding. Of some West African Negroes, again, we are told that although a father can force his daughter to marry against her will, "such marriages are troublesome, and generally end in the man putting the woman away."⁴

¹ See Turner, 'Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay District,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* xi. 188 (Labrador Eskimo); Zache, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxi. 78.

² Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 141.

³ In Morocco, as elsewhere, certain words must be avoided as unlucky on certain occasions. See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 37.

⁴ Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 8.

Among the Chimariko Indians of California, if a girl is sent by her parents as a wife to a man whom she dislikes, she will bite his hands and scratch him until he sends her back to her home.¹

Of various peoples we learn that it is a common custom for women to run away from men who have been forced upon them by their parents.² In Pentecost, of the New Hebrides, when a woman has left her husband several times and repeated beatings have not changed her mind, "her parents pay back the money and the husband gives up his wife."³ Among the Bogos of North-Eastern Africa a woman who has been compelled to marry a man against her will may dissolve the union by three times running away from him.⁴ Among the Boloki on the Upper Congo, "when a free woman does not want to marry the man who is trying to arrange for her, she will tell him frankly that if he persists in marrying her, she will run away from him. But if, in spite of this threat, he completes the arrangements, then a few days after the marriage she will escape to a neighbouring town and put herself under the protection of the chief by tearing his cloth. The chief then gives the husband notice of what has happened, and before he can claim his wife he has to pay the chief. 600 brass rods = 39s. as compensation for his torn cloth. If the husband does not then permit her to marry the man she wants, she runs away again and again, and every time she runs it will cost her husband 600 brass rods. A sensible man will take warning by the first threat, and will not complete the marriage."⁵ It would be interesting to know whether the tearing of the chief's cloth, which induces him to interfere, is supposed to contain a conditional curse, as is the case with the Moorish 'ār, which is also, in some places, resorted to by a married woman as a means of ridding

¹ Dixon, *Chimariko Indians and Language*, p. 301.

² King and Fitzroy, *op. cit.* ii. 153 (Patagonians). Dobrizhoffer, *Account of the Abipones*, ii. 207. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 354 (Caribs). Fries, *Grönland*, p. 111 (Greenlanders).

³ Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, p. 234 sq.

⁴ Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 64.

⁵ Weeks, *Among Congo Cannibals*, p. 126.

her of her husband and at the same time of compelling another man to marry her. Among the Berbers inhabiting the mountain regions of Central Morocco I found the following custom. A woman who does not like to remain with her husband may fly to another man's house or tent, and embrace the pole supporting the roof or one of the vertical tent-poles, or, if there is no such pole, take hold of the handmill and turn it round as if she were grinding. Then the owner of the house or tent is obliged to marry her, whether he be a bachelor or a married man and whatever be the number of his wives; and in addition he has to pay to the abandoned husband a compensation, fixed by custom, which varies considerably in different tribes and even in different divisions of the same tribe—among the Aith Sâddën it amounts to five hundred dollars. This singular custom is based on the idea that some grave misfortune would befall the man if he did not wed the woman who in the said manner took refuge with him. For by taking hold of the pole of his dwelling or turning round his handmill, she puts 'ār on him, that is, transfers to him a conditional curse.¹

A very common method by which a woman can obtain the husband she desires without the consent or against the will of her parents is to elope with him.² Whilst this practice

¹ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 60 sqq.

² James, *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, p. 228 (Havasupai of Arizona). Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 199 (Plains Indians). Dunbar, 'Pawnee Indians,' in *Magazine of American History*, iv. 265; Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 46 (Pawnee). Hodge, *op. cit.* i. 809 (Siksika). Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States (Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge)*, iii. 238 (Dakota); v. 683 (Comanche). Mary Eastman, *Dahcotah*, p. 103 sq. Matthews, *Hidatsa Indians*, p. 53. Dorsey, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* iii. 260 (Omaha). Harmon, *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*, p. 341 (Blackfeet, Chipewyan, Cree, &c.). Teit, 'Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Memoirs American Museum Natur. Hist.* vol. ii. Anthropology, i. 324 sq.—Bogoras, *Chukchee*, p. 590 sq. Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 744. Sternberg, reviewed in *L'Anthropologie*, v. 343 (Gilyak). Mendiakov, reviewed *ibid.* vi. 205 sq. (Cheremiss of Oufa). Yavorski, reviewed *ibid.* viii. 356 (Turkomans). Patkanov, quoted by Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 105 (Tungus). Patkanov, *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie*, i. 140. Kowalewsky, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 167 (Ossetes).

indicates that the mutual consent of the parties is not always sufficient for the conclusion of a marriage, it also provides a remedy for the insufficiency. It is resorted to if the young man is too poor to pay the price asked for the girl or otherwise, from no fault of hers, is unable to marry her in the

St. Elie, 'La Femme du désert autrefois et aujourd'hui,' in *Anthropos*, iii. 189 (Bedouins). Elphinstone, *Account of the Kingdom of Kaubul*, i. 239 sq. (Afghans). Sarat Chandra Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxii. pt. iii. 9 sq. (Purang). Sherring, 'Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 108. Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 94 (Muduvans). Hayavadana Rao, 'Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts,' in *Anthropos*, v. 795. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 192, 299 sq. (Hos, Boad, Kandhs). Hutchinson, *Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, pp. 97, 167 (Chukmas, Mrús). Watt, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvi. 355 (Kaupuis of Manipur). Endle, *Kacháris*, p. 43 sq. Gilhodes, 'Mariage et condition de la femme chez les Katchins (Birmanie),' in *Anthropos*, viii. 371. Rose and Brown, 'Lisu Tribes of the Burma-China Frontier,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, iii. 262 (Lihsaws). Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 54. Young, *Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 85 (Siamese). Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamils Eighteen hundred Years ago*, p. 120. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 345 sqq. Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 235; Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, iii. 129 sq. (Rejangs of Sumatra). Moszkowski, *Auf neuen Wegen durch Sumatra*, p. 240 sq.; Junghuhn, *op. cit.* ii. 132 (Battas). Brooke Low, quoted by Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 118 (Dyaks). Jacobs, *Eenigen Tijd onder de Baliërs*, p. 128. Anna Forbes, *Insulinde*, p. 171 (Tenimberese).—Kubary, 'Die Verbrechen und das Strafverfahren auf den Pelau-Inseln,' in *Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der königl. Museen zu Berlin*, i. 79 (Pelew Islanders). Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 271, 363 n. 1 (Roro, Mekeo). Williamson, *Mufulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 173. Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, p. 241 (Bogadjim). Vetter, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land*, 1897, p. 89 (Jabim). Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 16 (natives of Songa in Vellalavella). Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 240 sqq. (Banks and Lepers' Islanders). Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 203. Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, v. 101 (Gilbert Islanders). Turner, *Samoa*, p. 95 sq.; Schultz, 'Principles of Samoan Family Law,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* xx. 49. Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 139; Colenso, *Maori Races*, p. 25; Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 294.—Shooter,

ordinary way.¹ Among many peoples elopement is a veritable institution, recognised by custom as a method of concluding a marriage or at least as a preliminary to it. Frequently the lover may afterwards have to pay for his bride or to conciliate her people with some gift.² Among the Pawnee and Siksika, in case of elopement, the subsequent presentation of gifts legitimised the marriage and removed the disgrace which would otherwise attach to the girl and her family.³ Among the Kacháris, who look upon elopement as a blameworthy and irregular but not invalid procedure, "the bride's parents claim an immediate payment of Rs. 5/- from the bridegroom, and also exact the bride-price at a higher rate than usual";⁴ but these conditions are quite exceptional for their severity. Among the Pangwe in West Africa the father of the girl is appeased by a part,

Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country, pp. 57, 60. Theal, *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 215 (Bantu). Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 120 sq. (Thonga). Heese, 'Sitte und Brauch der Sango,' in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* N.S. xii. 136. Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 209 (Basoga). Cunningham, *Uganda*, pp. 112-114, 368 sq. (Basoga, Bavuma, Latuka). Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 61 n. 2. Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 46 sq. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 185. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, ii. 260. Poupon, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxvi. 126 (Baya). Westermarck, *Marriage Customs in Morocco*, p. 36 (Berbers of the Aith Sádden in Central Morocco).

¹ Sometimes sham elopements are arranged with the consent of the bride's parents in order to save the expenses of a regular wedding (Blau, 'Nachrichten über kurdische Stämme,' in *Zeitschr. Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellsch.* xvi. 624 [Dušik-Kurds in the Dersim Mountains south of Erzingân]; Ahmad Shah, *Four Years in Tibet*, p. 57; Schotter, 'Notes ethnographiques sur les tribus de Kouytcheou (Chine),' in *Anthropos*, vi. 320 [Hë-miao]), or, when the bridegroom is too poor to pay the required price, "to save the credit of the bride's family in not having received a sufficient price for her" (Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 81 [Yassin]).

² Plains Indians, Pawnee (according to Dunbar), Siksika, Chere-miss of Oufa, Ostyak, people of Purang, Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts, Kacháris, Lihsaws, Battas (according to Moszkowski), natives of Bali and Tenimber, Roro and Mekeo tribes and Mafulu of British New Guinea, Jabim, people of Songa in Vellalavella, Banks Islanders, Thonga, Basoga, Latuka, Nandi, Pangwe, Baya.

³ Hodge, *op. cit.* i. 809.

⁴ Endle, *op. cit.* p. 43.

perhaps one half, of the ordinary purchase-sum and generally grants delay of the payment of the rest of it.¹ Of the Thonga we are told that if the lover does not succeed in bringing the regular payment for the girl, the first girl born from their marriage will take its place—"the child will pay for her mother";² and a similar custom is found among the Latuka, a tribe in the British sphere, bordering on the Sudan.³ Among the Dyaks of Borneo, "when a young woman is in love with a man who is not acceptable to her parents, there is an old custom called *nunghup bui*, which permits him to carry her off to his own village. She will meet him by arrangement at the water-side, and step into his boat with a paddle in her hand, and both will pull away as fast as they can." When his pursuers arrive at his house he gives them food to eat and toddy to drink, and sends them home satisfied; and in the meanwhile he is left in possession of his wife.⁴

Among various peoples the elopement is by itself sufficient to make the run-away couple husband and wife. Among the Havasupai of Arizona, if parents refuse to sell their daughter to a suitor and the couple elope, "this ends the matter. The ethics of the tribe are such that cohabitation once entered upon, the parents have no authority to declare the marriage void. And, as a further penalty for his obdurate obstinacy, the father loses the ten dollars or its equivalent he might have had by being kind and complaisant to the desires of the young couple."⁵ Among the Thompson Indians, even if the father of a girl who has eloped with her lover brought her back, "he could only deliver her up to the young man, as custom declared them already married."⁶ The Dakota, according to Mary Eastman, have two kinds of marriages, buying a wife and run-away matches; for "it is an understood thing that, when the young people run

¹ Tessmann, *op. cit.* ii. 260.

² Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 121.

³ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 369.

⁴ Brooke Low, quoted by Ling Roth, *Natives of Sarawak*, i. 118.

⁵ James, *Indians of the Painted Desert Region*, p. 228 sq.

⁶ Teit, in *Memoirs American Museum Nat. Hist.* vol. ii. Anthropology, i. 324.

away, they are to be forgiven at any time they choose to return, if it should be the next day, or six months afterwards."¹ Among the Hidatsa Indians of Dakota, if the eloped pair remain out on the prairie for a week or so and then return to the village, this usually ends the trouble and they are considered married; yet "such marriages are looked upon as undignified, and different terms are applied to a marriage by elopement and a marriage by parental consent."² The Omaha thought that a father, brother, or uncle had no reason to feel vexed if his daughter, sister, or niece eloped with a lover, and ridiculed him if he showed anger on that account; for a man could run away with a woman who consented to it, whether she belonged to his own or to another tribe.³ Should a Koryak girl run away to her lover's house against the will of her kindred, "her parents would not demand her return, as she went of her own accord."⁴ Among the Bhotias of the Almora district, when the eloped girl formally eats the ceremonial food—*dalong*, *datu*, and *jam*—with her lover, her relations are in process of time "compelled to accept what cannot be mended."⁵ Among the Muduvars of Southern India, if a man and woman do not obtain the consent of their relatives to marrying each other, they run away into the jungle or a cave, visiting the village frequently and getting grain and other food from sympathisers; but when the anger aroused by their behaviour has subsided, "they quietly return to the village, and live as man and wife."⁶ The Chukmas of the Chittagong Hills have marriage by elopement; the parents of the girl can demand her restitution on three separate occasions, but "if the ardent lover can successfully bring off a fourth elopement, he has secured the prize and won his wife."⁷ Among the Masai it not infrequently happens that a girl immediately on becoming marriageable leaves the hut where she is living with her mother and flies

¹ Eastman, *op. cit.* p. 103. ² Matthews, *op. cit.* pp. 53, 167, 208.

³ Dorsey, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethnol.* iii. 260.

⁴ Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 744.

⁵ Sherring, in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 108.

⁶ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, v. 94.

⁷ Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 97.

to her lover. If her father—as is often the case—then sends a troop of boys carrying sticks to fetch her back, the lover runs away with her to the woods threatening forcible resistance if anybody is trying to separate them. “As soon as the couple have eaten a head of cattle in the woods, they return to the village and are without further ceremonies recognised as man and wife.”¹

Nowhere is marriage by elopement more frequent, and indeed more needed, than in many Australian tribes.² Among the Kurnai, according to Howitt, a man, with rare exceptions, “could acquire a wife in one way only, namely, by running off with her secretly and with her own consent. Marriage, therefore, was by elopement.” It was the business of the *bunjil-yenjin*, a medicine-man, to aid the elopement of young couples, and this gave sanction to the practice, which arose from the difficulty in finding a wife.³ If the parties are prohibited from intermarrying on account of the relationship in which they stand to each other, the elopement is punished with great severity,⁴ whereas otherwise the lover may, at least in certain circumstances, retain the woman with whom he eloped. In many cases

¹ Merker, *op. cit.* p. 46 sq.

² See Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, pp. 36-47, 55 sqq., and the various authorities quoted by him; Browne; ‘Die Eingebornen Australiens, ihre Sitten und Gebräuche,’ in *Mittheilungen aus Justus Perthes’ Geographischer Anstalt*, 1856, p. 450 (natives of King George’s Sound); Wilhelmi, ‘Manners and Customs of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District,’ in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, v. 179; McKiernan, ‘Some Notes on the Aborigines of the Lower Hunter River, New South Wales,’ in *Anthropos*, vi. 887. According to Dr. Howitt (‘On the Organisation of Australian Tribes,’ in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, vol. i. pt. ii. 118), marriage by elopement may be safely said to obtain “in all tribes in which infant betrothal occurs, and where the young men, or some of them, find more or less difficulty through this practice, or by there being no female relative available for exchange, or indeed wherever a couple fall in love with each other and cannot obtain consent to their marriage.” Dr. Malinowski observes (*op. cit.* p. 47) that “there seems to have been not a single tribe in which elopement was completely absent.”

³ Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 273, 274, 279.

⁴ *Ibid* pp. 222, 246.

he has to fight the man to whom she has been promised or, if she is already married, her husband,¹ or a more general struggle ensues in which kindred are involved;² and in either case the issue of the fight decides whether he will be allowed to keep the woman or not. Among the Wiimbaio "the girl was pursued by her father and brothers, and the man she had eloped with would have to allow them to strike him on the head with a club, after which in some cases he would retain her. But in other cases there was a fight between her kindred, male and female, and those of the man she went off with."³ In the Wollaroi tribe, in cases of elopement with the wife of another man, it was the custom for the abductor "to stand out before a number of the woman's kindred, who were armed with spears, he having merely a spear for his protection, to turn them aside"; and if he passed through the ordeal safely he was allowed to keep the woman.⁴ In certain tribes within fifty miles of Maryborough in Queensland the young man has to fight all her male relatives who choose to take the matter up, and the girl is at the same time severely beaten by her kindred; but he may also placate both her relatives and her promised husband by sending presents to them before he returns.⁵ In some tribes the man, in order to be allowed to retain the woman with whom he has run away, has to give a female relative in exchange for her, but even then he may have to fight or be subject to the usual ordeal.⁶ Among the Yuin in New South Wales, if the loving couple could escape and remain away until a child was born, nothing would be done to them, especially if the man could find a sister to exchange for his bride;⁷ and in some other tribes, also, the man would be allowed to retain the woman with

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 216, 222, 258. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 181. Brown, 'Three Tribes of Western Australia,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 158 (Karia tribe).

² Howitt, *op. cit.* pp. 194, 236 sq. Petrie, *Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, p. 60.

³ Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 194.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 217.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 233.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 246, 255. Lang, *Aborigines of Australia*, p. 12.

⁷ Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 263.

whom he eloped if they stayed away till a child was born¹ or the girl was with child.² Among the Goulburn tribe of Victoria, if "the happy couple straightway elope, and remain together in the bush for two nights and one day, in order to elude the pretended search of the tribe to whom the female belonged," the man may return with her as his wife to his own tribe.³ In other cases, again, repeated clopements make the marriage lawful.⁴

When passing from the savage and barbarous races of men to those next above them in civilisation, we find paternal, or parental, authority and filial reverence at their height.⁵ In ancient Mexico necessitous parents were allowed to dispose of any one of their children in order to relieve their poverty, although a master could not sell a well-behaved slave without his consent.⁶ Clavigero says that children were bred to stand so much in awe of their parents that, even when grown up and married, they hardly durst speak before them.⁷ The following is an exhortation which an Aztec gave to his son:—"Honour all persons, particularly thy parents, to whom thou owest obedience, respect, and service. Guard against imitating the example of those wicked sons, who, like brutes that are deprived of reason, neither reverence their parents, listen to their instruction, nor submit to their correction; because whoever follows their steps will have an unhappy end, will die in a desperate or sudden manner, or will be killed and devoured by wild beasts."⁸ A youth was seldom allowed to choose a wife for himself but was expected to abide by the selection of his parents. Hence it rarely happened that a marriage

¹ *Ibid.* p. 259 (Narrang-ga tribe of Yorke Peninsula).

² Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 202 (Kurnai).

³ Blandowski, quoted by Wilhelmi, in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, v. 179 sq.

⁴ Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 34 (South-West Victorian tribes). Fraser, *Aborigines of New South Wales*, p. 26 sq.

⁵ Cf. Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 607 sqq.

⁶ Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, i. 360.

⁷ *Ibid.* i. 331.

⁸ *Ibid.* i. 332.

took place without the sanction of parents or other kinsfolk, and he who presumed to choose his own wife or married without such consent had to undergo penance and was looked upon as ungrateful, ill-bred, and apostate.¹ The belief was, according to Torquemada, that an act of that kind would be punished with some misfortune.² Concerning the Guatemalans Mr. Bancroft says :—" It seems incredible that the young men should have quietly submitted to having their wives picked out for them without being allowed any voice or choice in the matter. Yet we are told that so great was their obedience and submission to their parents, that there never was any scandal in these things."³ In the greater part of Nicaragua matches were arranged by the parents ; though there were certain independent towns in which the girls chose their husbands from among the young men while the latter sat at a feast.⁴ In ancient Peru, Inca Pachacutec confirmed the law that sons should obey and serve their fathers until they reached the age of twenty-five, and that none should marry without the consent of his own parents and of those of the girl, a marriage without such consent being invalid and the children illegitimate.⁵ But we are told that the preference of the parties was also to be consulted.⁶

Similar ideas formerly prevailed, or to some extent still prevail, among the civilised nations of the Old World. Confucius taught :—" Of all the actions of man there is none greater than filial piety. In filial piety there is nothing greater than the reverential awe of one's father. In the reverential awe shown to one's father there is nothing greater than the making him the correlate of Heaven."⁷

¹ *Ibid.* i. 319. Bancroft, *op. cit.* ii. 251.

² Torquemada, *Monarchia Indiana*, ii. 415.

³ Bancroft, *op. cit.* ii. 666.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 667. Squier, ' Observations on the Archaeology and Ethnology of Nicaragua,' in *Trans. American Ethn. Soc.* vol. iii. pt. i. 127.

⁵ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, ii. 207.

⁶ Prescott, *History of the Conquest of Peru*, p. 54.

⁷ *Hsiao King*, 9 (*Sacred Books of the East*, iii. 476). Cf. *ibid.* 1, 7 (*Sacred Books of the East*, iii. 466, 473).

But the idea that filial piety is the fundamental duty of man was not originated by Confucius ; it had obtained a firm hold of the national mind long before his time.¹ And it has up to our days dominated the Chinese legislation relating to the family. The house-father reigns almost supreme in his household, and not even marriage withdraws the son from his power.² The old Chinese code, it is true, prohibits him from killing³ and selling⁴ his children ; but it is only in supreme cases that the State has interfered between the head of a household and his family belongings, and the sale of children has been practically allowed.⁵ No person, of whatever age, can act for himself in matrimonial matters during the lifetime or in the neighbourhood of his parents or near senior kinsfolk. The power of these guardians is so great that they may contract a marriage for a junior who is absent from home, and he is bound to abide by such engagement even though already affianced elsewhere without their privity or consent.⁶ The consequence of this system is that in many cases the betrothed couple scarcely know each other before marriage, the wedding being the first occasion on which the man catches a glimpse of his wife's face.⁷ In Corea it is the rule that men never see their brides until the wedding day, all preliminaries being arranged by the fathers of the young couple, whose inclinations are not consulted at all.⁸

In Japan the authority of a house-father was in former times as strong as in China.⁹ It was the established principle of Japanese customary law that a member of a house must

¹ Douglas, *Confucianism and Taouism*, p. 118.

² de Groot, *Religious System of China*, (vol. ii. book) i. 507.

³ *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, sec. cccxix. p. 347.

⁴ *Ibid.* sec. cclxxv. p. 292.

⁵ Douglas, *Society in China*, p. 78. Staunton, in his translation of *Ta Tsing Leu Lee*, p. 292 n.* Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, ii. 209.

⁶ Medhurst, 'Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China,' in *Trans. Roy. Asiatic Soc. China Branch*, iv. 11.

⁷ Gray, *China*, i. 205.

⁸ Saunderson, 'Notes on Corea and its People,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 305.

⁹ Rein, *Japan*, i. 583. Griffis, *Religions of Japan*, p. 122 sq.

obtain the consent of the head of the family for his or her marriage,¹ and often the consent of the parties themselves was not required.² The House-law of the Taihō Code also required the consent of grandparents, parents, and other relatives before a marriage could be celebrated.³ According to the regulations of the new Civil Code of Japan, the free consent of the persons who marry is necessary in addition to that of the parents "who are in the same house"; and when a man has completed his thirtieth year and a woman her twenty-fifth, the consent of the parents is no longer required.⁴ But as a matter of fact, marriages are still generally arranged by the parents of the parties.⁵

In ancient Chaldaea the father likewise had great power over his children.⁶ Hommel believes that the mother's authority was as great as the father's;⁷ whereas Meissner concludes that it was less, from the fact that her children are not seldom found to be at law with her in matters of succession.⁸ According to the latter, a daughter was given away in marriage by her father without being able to raise any objection to his choice.⁹ As Dr. Koschaker observes, a Babylonian woman was said not to marry, but to be married.¹⁰ We are also told that a son could not conclude a valid marriage without the consent of his father, although he could take a concubine without such consent;¹¹ but it is not known whether the father's right to interfere with the

¹ Hozumi, *Ancestor-Worship and Japanese Law*, p. 131 sq.

² Nakajima, 'Marriage (Japanese and Korean),' in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 459.

³ Hozumi, *op. cit.* p. 132. ⁴ *Civil Code of Japan*, § 772, p. 203.

⁵ Crasselt, 'Die Stellung der Ehefrau in Japan,' in *Anthropos*, iii. 546.

⁶ Oppert, review of Haupt, 'Die sumerischen Familiengesetze,' in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1879, p. 1604 sqq. Hommel, *Die semitischen Völker und Sprachen*, i. 416. Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 14 sq.

⁷ Hommel, *op. cit.* i. 416.

⁸ Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 15.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁰ Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*, p. 119. Cf. *ibid.* p. 123 sq.

¹¹ Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, ii. 7 sqq. Peiser, *Skizze der Babylonischen Gesellschaft*, p. 10 (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1896, p. 154):

matrimonial affairs of his son lasted till his death. That his power over his sons was great appears from the facts that a disobedient son might be sold as a slave,¹ and that, according to the Laws of Hammurabi, a man might give not only his daughter but his son as a hostage for debts,² although he could not disown his children at discretion.³

The importance which the ancient Hebrews attached to the duties of a child to its parents may be at once learned from the placing of the law on the subject among the Ten Commandments, and from its position there in the immediate proximity to the commands relating to the duties of man towards God.⁴ A father might sell his child to relieve his own distress, or offer it to a creditor as a pledge.⁵ He had not only unlimited power to marry his daughters,⁶ but even to sell them as maids into concubinage, though not to a foreign people.⁷ He also chose wives for his sons,⁸ the selection, however, sometimes being made by the mother;⁹ and there is no indication that the subjection of sons ceased after a certain age.¹⁰ According to the later Jewish law, the consent of parents is no legal requirement when the parties to the marriage are of age.¹¹ But Mielziner states that, in consequence of the high respect and veneration in which father and mother have ever been held among Israelites, "the cases of contracting marriage without the parents' consent fortunately belong to the rarest exceptions."¹²

¹ Hommel, *op. cit.* i. 416. Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 1. Cf. Koschaker, *op. cit.* p. 126 sqq.

² *Laws of Hammurabi*, § 117 (Johns' trans. p. 21 sq.; Winckler's trans. p. 33 sqq.).

³ *Ibid.* § 168 (Johns' trans. p. 34; Winckler's trans. p. 49).

⁴ Cf. Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, p. 188; Gans, *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung*, i. 134.

⁵ Ewald, *op. cit.* p. 190. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, p. 465.

⁶ Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 107. ⁷ *Exodus*, xxi. 7 sq.

⁸ *Genesis*, xxiv. 4; xxviii. 1 sq.; xxxviii. 6. *Exodus*, xxxiv. 16. *Deuteronomy*, vii. 3. ⁹ *Genesis*, xxi. 21.

¹⁰ Cf. Michaelis, *Commentaries on the Laws of Moses*, i. 444.

¹¹ Maimonides, *Ishūth*, quoted by Mielziner, *Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, p. 69. Lichtschein, *Die Ehe nach mosaisch-talmudischer Auffassung*, p. 41.

¹² Mielziner, *op. cit.* p. 69 sq.

Of the ancient Arabs Wellhausen says that a woman was betrothed by her *walī*, or guardian, that is, her father, brother, or cousin; but "of course, the daughter is often asked, by affectionate parents, whether she wants to have the suitor."¹ According to Muhammadan law, the woman's consent is not required if she is still in her father's power. Among the Ḥanafīs and the Shīa'hs the father's right to marry his daughter without her consent comes to an end when she arrives at puberty,² but this is not the case among the Mālikī school of Muhammadans. Among them she ceases to be in his power only by his death, or by her being expressly emancipated by him during his lifetime,³ or by her marriage (unless she has been married before puberty and the marriage has then been dissolved, or the marriage has been dissolved, without having been consummated, before she has lived a year in her husband's dwelling), or, according to some jurists, when she has reached the age of at least thirty.⁴ On the other hand, when marriage is contracted on behalf of a woman who is no longer in her father's power, it is necessary that she should give her consent to it, either in express terms, or, if she be a virgin, at least by implication; and in the latter case her silence or laugh is construed to imply consent.⁵ In Morocco, Algeria,⁶ Tunis,⁷ and many parts of Palestine⁸ it is the general rule that the

¹ Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, p. 431 sq.

² Ameer Ali, *Mahomedan Law*, ii. 335. Milliot, *La Femme musulmane au Maghreb*, p. 81.

³ Emancipation, however, may be only for the purpose of enabling her to select a husband for herself, while her business affairs remain subject to the paternal control (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, 'A Manual of the Law of Marriage,' from the *Mukhtaṣar of Sīdī Khālīl*, p. 7 n. 2).

⁴ Sīdī Halīl, *Mukhtaṣar*, § 24 sq. (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, *op. cit.* p. 6 sq.). Milliot, *op. cit.* pp. 79, 80, 87 sq.

⁵ Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 334, 335, 343 sq. Milliot, *op. cit.* p. 101 sq. Sīdī Halīl, *op. cit.* § 40 (p. 12).

⁶ Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie*, p. 76. ⁷ Sellami, 'La Femme musulmane,' in *Revue Tunisienne*, iii. 435.

⁸ Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vi 88 sq.

parents of a girl marry her without asking for her consent. But the Bedawin of the desert "differ entirely from all Mohammedan natives of Palestine in allowing their girls to accept or reject a proposal";¹ among the Aeneze of Northern Arabia the girl's wishes are consulted, and it is never supposed that she should be compelled to marry against her inclination;² and in Mecca a virgin is seldom forced into marriage, although it is considered proper that she should behave as though she submitted to her father's will only because she has to obey him.³ According to all the Muhammadan schools, a son is at liberty to contract a marriage without his father's consent when he has attained his puberty, which is mostly presumed on the completion of the fifteenth year.⁴ But although the father certainly has the right to impose the *status* of marriage on his children during their minority, sons and daughters alike, the law takes care that this right shall not be exercised to the prejudice of the infant; any act of the father which is likely to injure the interests of the minor is considered illegal, and entitles the judge to interfere in order to prevent the completion of such act or, if complete, to annul it.⁵ As a matter of fact, however, in Morocco and elsewhere⁶ parents not infrequently arrange the marriage of their son even though he be grown-up, according to their own taste; and custom may require that he should comply with their wishes. Where the separation between the sexes is so strict as it often is in the Muhammadan world, the interference of parents in the matrimonial affairs of their son can hardly be felt as a burden by the young man, especially as he can readily divorce a wife whom he does not like. And for a girl it would be no easy matter to choose between suitors whom she does not know.

Among the ancient Romans, in relation to the house-father, "all in the household were destitute of legal rights—

Robinson Lee, *Witness of the Wilderness*, p. 120.

Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahábys*, p. 61.

Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 157.

Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 273 sq. ⁵ *Ibid.* ii. 273, 275 sq.

Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 43. Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* ii. 157 (Mecca).

the wife and the child no less than the bullock or the slave.”¹ The father not only had judicial authority over his children—implying the right of inflicting capital punishment on them, though not without a just cause,²—but he could sell them at discretion.³ Even the grown-up son and his children were subject to the house-father’s authority,⁴ and in marriage without *conventio in manum* a daughter remained in the power of her father or tutor even after marriage. The consent of the *paterfamilias* was indispensable to the marriage of children, sons and daughters alike;⁵ and so strict was this rule that down to the reign of Marcus Aurelius the children of a *mente captus* could not contract a legal marriage while in the power of their father, the latter being incapable of giving his consent.⁶

It has been suggested by Sir Henry Maine and others that the *patria potestas* of the Romans was a survival of the paternal authority which existed among the primitive Aryans.⁷ But no clear evidence of the general prevalence of such unlimited authority among other so-called Aryan peoples has been adduced.⁸ The ancient jurist observed, “The power which we have over our children is peculiar to Roman citizens; for there are no other nations possessing the same power over their children as we have over ours.”⁹ That among the Greeks and Teutons the father had the right to expose his children in their infancy, to sell them in case of urgency as long as they remained in his power,¹⁰

¹ Mommsen, *History of Rome*, i. 74.

² Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 393, 611.

³ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Antiquitates Romanae*, ii. 27.

⁴ *Institutiones*, i. 9. 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* i. 10. Roszbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 393. Mackenzie, *Studies in Roman Law*, p. 104.

⁶ Mackenzie, *op. cit.* p. 104 n. 4.

⁷ Maine, *Ancient Law*, p. 138. Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, p. 106 sq. Hearn, *Aryan Household*, p. 92.

⁸ For Greece cf. v. Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and Niese, *Staat und Gesellschaft der Griechen und Römer*, p. 35. ⁹ *Institutiones*, i. 9. 2.

¹⁰ Leist, *Græco-italische Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 60 sq. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 461 sq. Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 76.

and to give away his daughters in marriage without consulting their wishes,¹ does not imply the possession of a sovereignty like that which the Roman house-father exercised over his descendants of all ages. It was very frequently the lot of a Greek woman to be given in marriage to a man whom she did not know.² In Greece³ and among all the Teutonic nations⁴ the father's authority over his son came to an end when the latter grew up and left his home; and a grown-up son might choose his own wife.⁵ But it seems that among the Teutons a man, in doing so, might have been required by custom to take counsel with his kinsfolk.⁶

Nor is there any evidence that the *patria potestas* of the Roman type ever prevailed in full in India, great though the father's or the parents' authority has been, and still is, among the Hindus. In Vedic times the father seems to have been the head of the family only as long as he was able to be its protector and maintainer,⁷ decrepit parents being even allowed to die of starvation.⁸ Macdonell and Keith maintain that considerable freedom was probably left both to man and woman in selecting a wife or a husband, and deny the existence of any clear evidence in favour of Zimmer's assertion that the consent of the father was needed,⁹ although

¹ Cauvet, 'De l'organisation de la famille à Athènes,' in *Revue de législation*, xxiv. 147. Müller, *Doric Race*, ii. 298. Hruza, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Familienrechtes*, i. 9. Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la République Athénienne*, i. 113, 120, 121, 132-134, 157. Schroeder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 299. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt*, p. 50. Wilda, *Das Strafrecht der Germanen*, p. 802. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 303. Olivecrona, *Om makars giftorätt i bo*, p. 48. Roeder, *Die Familie bei den Angelsachsen*, p. 24.

² Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, iii. 347 sq. Hermann-Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer*, p. 261.

³ Cauvet, *loc. cit.* p. 138. Leist, *op. cit.* p. 62 sq.

⁴ Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 462. Koenigswarter, *Histoire de l'organisation de la famille en France*, p. 140. Brunner, *op. cit.* i. 75 sq.

⁵ Cauvet, *loc. cit.* p. 138. Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 134, 157.

⁶ Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 18. Olivecrona, *op. cit.* p. 143. Winroth, *Aktenskapshindren*, p. 49 sq.

⁷ *Rig-Veda*, i. 70. 5.

⁸ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 328.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 309.

no doubt parents often arranged suitable marriages for their children.¹ According to some sacred books from a later age, the father and the mother have power to give, to sell, and to abandon their son, because "man formed of uterine blood and virile seed proceeds from his mother and his father as an effect from its cause"; but an only son may not be given or received in adoption, nor is a woman allowed to give or receive a son except with her husband's permission.² In other books it is said that "the gift or acceptance of a child and the right to sell or buy a child are not recognised,"³ and that he who casts off his son—unless the son be guilty of a crime causing loss of caste—shall be fined by the king six hundred *panas*.⁴ According to the 'Laws of Manu' a daughter might choose her husband in accordance with her own wish, but the legislator disapproves of such a "voluntary union of a maiden and her lover . . . which springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose."⁵ The four marriages—*brāhma*, *daiva*, *ārsha*, and *prājāpatya*—in which the father gives away his daughter are blessed marriages, and from them spring sons radiant with knowledge of the Veda, honoured by good men, and destined to live a hundred years. But the remaining four marriages—those effected by purchase, voluntary union, forcible abduction, or stealth—are blamable marriages, from which spring sons who are cruel and untruthful, who hate the Veda and the sacred law.⁶ Nārada says that a maiden shall be given in marriage by her father, or by her brother with the father's authority, or by her paternal grandfather, or by her maternal uncle, or by agnates or cognates, or in default of all these by her mother in case she is competent to act as guardian, or by the distant connections if the mother is not competent. If no such persons be in

¹ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i. 482. See also Delbrück, 'Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftsnamen,' in *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellsch. f. Wissensch.* xi. 574.

² *Vāsishṭha*, xv. i. sqq. *Baudhāyana Parisiṣṭa*, vii. 5. 2 sqq.

³ *Āpastamba*, ii. 6. 13. 11.

⁴ *Laws of Manu*, viii. 389. Cf. *ibid.* xi. 60.

⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 32.

⁶ *Ibid.* iii. 39 sqq.

existence, the maiden shall have recourse to the king, and with his permission betake herself to a bridegroom of her own choice.¹ Whatever be the strict legal rights of a parent, filial piety is a most stringent duty in a child.² A man has three Atigurus, or specially venerable superiors : his father, mother, and spiritual teacher. To them he must always pay obedience. He must do what is agreeable and serviceable to them. He must never do anything without their leave.³ " By honouring these three all that ought to be done by man is accomplished ; that is clearly the highest duty, every other act is a subordinate duty." ⁴ Similar feelings prevail among the modern Hindus.⁵ Sir W. H. Sleeman observes, " There is no part of the world, I believe, where parents are so much revered by their sons as they are in India in all classes of society " ; whilst the duty of daughters is from the day of their marriage transferred entirely to their husbands and their husbands' parents.⁶ According to the existing customs of the Hindus, " the consent of the parents on the girl's side is essential, and on the boy's it is considered necessary on a first marriage, and is always advisable." ⁷ A native writer states that " the Hindu youth has to maintain an attitude of utter indifference about every proposal regarding his marriage, and when any arrangement in that respect-is made by his parents, grandparents, uncles or elder brothers, he has to go through the ceremony out of his sense of duty to obey or oblige them." ⁸

According to ancient Russian laws, fathers had great power over their children ; ⁹ but it is not probable that a son could be sold as a slave.¹⁰ Baron von Haxthausen, who wrote before the Emancipation in 1861, says that

¹ *Nārada*, xii. 20 sqq.

² *Āpastamba*, i. 4. 14. 6. *Laws of Manu*, ii. 225 sqq. ; iv. 162 ; &c.

³ *Institutes of Vishnu*, ch. 31. ⁴ *Laws of Manu*, ii. 237.

⁵ Nelson, *View of the Hindū Law*, p. 56 sq. Ghani, ' Social Life and Morality in India,' in *International Journal of Ethics*, vii. 312.

⁶ Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, i. 330 sqq.

⁷ Steele, *Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes*, p. 162.

⁸ Jogendra Nath Bhattacharya, *Hindu Castes and Sects*, p. 12.

⁹ Accurse, quoted by de Laurière, in Loysel, *Institutes coutumières*, i. 82. ¹⁰ Maciejowski, *Slavische Rechtsgeschichte*, iv. 404.

"the patriarchal government, feelings, and organisation are in full activity in the life, manners, and customs of the Great Russians. The same unlimited authority which the father exercises over all his children is possessed by the mother over her daughters."¹ Even the adult son was subject to his father's authority until he had himself children arrived at years of discretion, or had in his turn become the head of the family.² As has been noticed above, it was a common custom for a father to marry his young sons to grown-up women;³ and we are told that in Poland also, in ancient times, a father used to select a bride for his son.⁴ According to Professor Bogišić, the power of the father is not so great among the Southern Slavs as among the Russians.⁵ But a son is not permitted to make a proposal of marriage to a girl against the will of his parents; and among the Croats and Serbians it is quite exceptional for the young man himself to look about for his future wife.⁶ A daughter, of course, enjoys still less freedom of disposing of her own hand.⁷

Caesar states that in Gaul the house-father had the power of life and death over his wife and children.⁸ M. d'Arbois de Jubainville maintains that according to early Celtic law, as in Rome, the authority of the father lasted till his death; but this is not quite borne out by the facts he quotes.⁹ In ancient Ireland the son was under the father's control till formally emancipated; but it is not known at what age the emancipation took place.¹⁰ The Welsh laws refer to the giving of a daughter in marriage by her kindred as well as by her father. She does not seem to have been

¹ v. Haxthausen, *Russian Empire*, ii. 229 sq.

² Leroy-Beaulieu, *Empire of the Tsars and the Russians*, i. 488.

³ *Supra*, i. 386.

⁴ Maciejowski, *op. cit.* ii. 189.

⁵ Bogišić, quoted by Maine, *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 244 note.

⁶ Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 314, 313. Wesnitsch, 'Die Blutrache bei den Südslaven,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* ix. 50.

⁷ Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 320. Wesnitsch, *loc. cit.* p. 50.

⁸ Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, vi. 19. 3.

⁹ d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, vii. 244 sqq.

¹⁰ Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii. 13.

entirely at the disposal of the latter, nor to have been, in theory, entirely free.¹

In Europe the paternal authority of the archaic type has gradually yielded to a system under which the father has been divested of the most essential rights he formerly possessed over his children—a system the inmost drift of which is expressed in the words of the French Encyclopedist, “Le pouvoir paternel est plutôt un devoir qu’un pouvoir.”²

Even in pagan times the Roman *patria potestas* was subject to important restrictions. The life of the child was practically as sacred as that of the parent long before Christianity became the religion of Rome.³ Alexander Severus limited the father’s right of punishing his children to simple correction,⁴ and Diocletian and Maximilian took away the power of selling freeborn children as slaves.⁵ Under the jurisprudence of Justinian a father could not force his son or daughter in marriage.⁶ But at the same time the right of a voice in his children’s marriages was stoutly maintained: the consent of the head of the family remained essential to the validity of the marriage of anyone under his power, irrespective of age.⁷

Canon Law adopted the principle that no marriage can be concluded without the consent of the persons who marry; but, unlike Justinian’s law, as a consequence of its doctrine that marriage is a sacrament, it ruled that, however young the bridegroom and bride may be, the consent of their parents or guardians is not necessary to make the marriage

¹ Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 209.

² *Encyclopédie méthodique*, Jurisprudence, vii. 77, art. Puissance paternelle.

³ Milman, *History of Latin Christianity*, ii. 25. Sohm, *Institutes*, p. 483.

⁴ *Codex Justinianus*, viii. 46. (47.) 3.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 43. 1. Constantine, however, made an exception of newly-born infants when the parents were in extreme misery (*ibid.* iv. 43. 2).

⁶ *Digesta*, xxiii. 2. 21. *Codex Justinianus*, v. 4. 14. Cf. Hunter, *Exposition of Roman Law*, p. 680; Winroth, *op. cit.* p. 51.

⁷ Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 174. Hunter, *op. cit.* p. 680. Winroth, *op. cit.* p. 51.

valid.¹ The Church disapproved of marriages contracted without such consent: the lack of it was a "prohibitory impediment" (*impedimentum impediens*) rendering the marriage illicit, but not a "diriment impediment" (*impedimentum dirimens*), rendering it null and void.² The stipulations of Canon Law influenced secular legislation. An edict of Clothaire I. in 560 prohibited the forcing of women to marry against their will.³ According to the Laws of Cnut, no woman or girl could be compelled to marry a man whom she disliked.⁴ In an Anglo-Saxon betrothal formula from the tenth century the girl's consent is unconditionally required.⁵ And various early Teutonic law-books in continental countries likewise prohibited the forcing of a woman into marriage against her will.⁶ As to the canonical prescription that a marriage is valid without the consent of parents or guardians, it seems that the English temporal law more or less acquiesced in it, although it regarded "wardship and marriage" as a valuable piece of property;⁷ and in the later Middle Ages German women were able to marry without parental consent, though at the risk of being disinherited.⁸

¹ Gratian, *Decretum*, ii. 27. 2. 2 (Migne, *Patrologiæ cursus*, clxxxvii. 1392):—"Sufficiat secundum leges solus eorum consensus, de quorum conjunctionibus agitur."

² Friedberg, *Lehrbuch des katholischen und evangelischen Kirchenrechts*, p. 422. Winroth, *op. cit.* p. 52.

³ Pardessus, *Loi Salique*, p. 666.

⁴ *Laws of Cnut*, ii. 75.

⁵ Roeder, *op. cit.* p. 24 sq.

⁶ Nordström, *Bidrag till den svenska samhälls-författnings historia*, ii. 15 sq. Wilda, *op. cit.* p. 803. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 304. Winroth, *op. cit.* 55 sq. Ludlow, 'Consent to Marriage,' in Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 434 sq. According to Saxo Grammaticus (*Historia Danica*, book v. vol. i. 186), a woman was allowed to dispose of her own hand before the days of King Frotho.

⁷ Pollock and Maitland, *History of the English Law before the Time of Edward I.*, ii. 389. Cf., however, Roeder, *op. cit.* p. 25.

⁸ Kraut, *Die Vormundschaft nach den Grundsätzen des deutschen Rechts*, i. 326. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 733. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt*, p. 51 sq. Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 104 sq.

The 'Schwabenspiegel,' which is a faithful echo of canonical ideas, says that when a young man has completed his fourteenth year he can take a wife without the consent of his father, that a maiden is marriageable at twelve years, and that her marriage subsists even if contracted in spite of her father or other relatives.¹ But the feelings of the people seemed to have been opposed to such a marriage, and required the consent of parents. Ulrich von Lichtenstein says in his 'Frauenbuch,' "A girl who has no parents should follow the advice of her kinsfolk ; if she gives herself to a man of her own accord, she may live with shame."² Attempts were made to induce the Church to change its law on the subject, but in vain : the matter was definitely settled at the Council of Trent, after a lively discussion.³

Luther and other reformers were of a different opinion : they maintained that a marriage contracted without the consent of parents should be regarded as invalid, unless the consent was given afterwards.⁴ This principle was gradually accepted by most legislators in Protestant countries, but with the modification that parental consent could be refused for good reasons only and, in case of need, the consent of the authorities could take its place.⁵ In Roman Catholic countries, also, the canonical doctrine met with opposition ; legislators declared parental consent to be necessary for the validity of a marriage, and no appeal could be made in the case of refusal.⁶ Henry II. of France decreed, in 1556, that a marriage contracted by a minor without the consent of ascendants was null and void ; and the later legislation went further in the same direction. If a marriage was contracted without such consent by a person who was below

¹ *Der Schwabenspiegel*, Landrecht, § 55.

² Weinhold, *op. cit.* i. 305.

³ Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 122 sq. Winroth, *op. cit.* p. 52 sq.

⁴ Colberg, *Ueber das Ebehinderniss der Entführung*, p. 114 sqq. Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 105 sq. *Idem*, *Lehrbuch des katholischen und evangelischen Kirchenrechts*, p. 422 sq.

⁵ Colberg, *op. cit.* p. 121. Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 106. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 206 sq. n. 16.

⁶ Cf. Winroth, *op. cit.* p. 53.

the age of twenty-five, it was annulled ; if contracted by a person between twenty-five and thirty, it was valid, but disinheritance might be the consequence ; and if contracted by a person above the age of thirty, it had still to be previously notified to the ascendants by " three respectful acts."¹ Indeed, according to the French ' Code Civil,' a son under twenty-five and a daughter under twenty-one could not, until 1907, marry without parental consent.²

Generally speaking, in France and other Latin countries the Roman notions of paternal rights and filial duties have to some extent survived among the people throughout the Middle Ages and long after. In the literature of the eleventh century, says M. Bernard, the paternal character " is everywhere honoured, and filial piety everywhere praised and rewarded. In the romances of chivalry fathers are never ridiculous ; nor sons insolent and mocking. . . . Above the majesty of the feudal baron, that of the paternal power was held still more sacred and inviolable. However powerful the son might be, he would not have dared to outrage his father, whose authority was in his eyes always confounded with the sovereignty of command."³ Bodin wrote, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, that although the monarch commands his subjects, the master his disciples, the captain his soldiers, there is none to whom nature has given any command except the father, " who is the true image of the great sovereign God, universal father of all things."⁴ Du Vair remarked that we ought to regard our fathers as gods on earth.⁵ In the Duke of Sully's Memoirs we read that in his days in France children were not permitted to sit in the presence of their parents without being commanded to do so.⁶ Speaking of the women among the nobility and upper classes in France during the eighteenth century, Messrs. de Goncourt remark :—" Généralement le

Guétat, *Histoire élémentaire du droit français*, p. 364 sq.

Code civil, art. 148.

Bernard, quoted in Spencer's *Descriptive Sociology*, p. 38.

Bodin, *De republica*, i. 4, p. 31.

Du Vair, quoted by de Ribbe, *Les familles et la société en France avant la Révolution*, p. 51.

⁶ de Sully, *Memoirs*, v. 180.

mariage de la jeune fille se faisait presque immédiatement au sortir du couvent, avec un mari accepté et agréé par la famille. Car le mariage était avant tout une affaire de famille, un arrangement au gré des parents, qui décidaient des considérations de position et d'argent, des convenances de rang et de fortune. Le choix était fait d'avance pour la jeune personne, qui n'était pas consultée."¹

According to the present law of France, a son and daughter under the age of twenty-one cannot marry without the consent of the father and mother, or of the father only if they disagree, or of the survivor if one be dead. If both father and mother are dead, or in a condition which renders them unable to consent, the grandparents take their place. Between the ages of twenty-one and thirty the parties must still obtain parental consent, but if this be refused it can be regulated by means of an act before a notary, and if the consent is not given within thirty days the marriage can take place without it.² In the Netherlands a minor, that is, a person under the age of twenty-three, cannot marry without the consent of parents, or at least of the father; and here also a formal request is prescribed for individuals under thirty years of age, although, in the case of refusal, the marriage can be contracted after three months.³ In Italy the consent of parents, or of the father, or of the survivor if one of the parents is dead, is required for a son who has not completed his twenty-fifth year and for a daughter who has not completed her twenty-first; but in case of refusal of consent provision is made for an appeal to a court.⁴ In Austria minors, that is, individuals under the age of twenty-four, are incapable of contracting a valid marriage without the consent of their father.⁵ In Germany a legitimate child requires before the completion of his twenty-first year of age the approval of the father for

¹ de Goncourt, *La Femme au dix-huitième siècle*, p. 20.

² *Code civil*, art. 148-151, 154.

³ 'Code civil,' §§ 92, 99 *sqq.*, in *Les codes Néerlandais*, p. 69 *sq.* Roguin, *Traité de droit civil comparé. Le mariage*, p. 53.

⁴ *Codice civile del regno d'Italia*, §§ 63, 67.

⁵ *Das allgemeine bürgerliche Gesetzbuch für das Kaisertum Oesterreich*, §§ 21, 49.

concluding a marriage, whilst an illegitimate child requires before the same age the approval of the mother ; if the father is dead, the mother takes his place.¹ In Sweden parental consent is required for persons under the age of twenty-one,² in Switzerland for persons under the age of twenty.³

In England, by the common law, the marriages of minors who had attained the age of consent—fixed at fourteen years for males and twelve years for females—were valid without the consent of parents until the year 1753, when Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act (26 Geo. 2, c. 33, § 11) declared such marriages void.⁴ According to the present law of England, "where a person, not being a widower nor widow, is under the age of twenty-one years, the father, if living, or, if he is dead, the guardian or guardians, or one of them, or if there is no guardian lawfully appointed, then the mother, if she has not remarried, has authority to consent to his or her marriage ; and such consent is required except where there is no person having authority to give it."⁵ Yet the marriage of a minor without the requisite consent is not invalid, whether it is by banns or licence or superintendent registrar's certificate ; but there may be forfeiture of all the rights and interest in any property accruing to the offending party by force of the marriage.⁶ In Scotland, on the other hand, no consent of parents or guardian is required even for minors who have attained the age of puberty ;⁷ and by the common law of the United States, which was not affected by Lord Hardwicke's Marriage Act, the marriage of minors without the parental consent is likewise good. There are "statutes which forbid the celebration of the nuptials of minors without permission from the parent or guardian ; but, in the absence of a clause

¹ *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*, § 1305.

² *Lag om äktenskaps ingående och upplösning av den 12 november 1915*, ii. 2.

³ *Schweizerisches Zivilgesetzbuch vom 10. Dezember 1907*, art. 14, 98.

⁴ Blackstone-Kerr, *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, i. 408 sq.

⁵ Earl of Halsbury, *Laws of England*, xvi. 296.

⁶ *Ibid.* xvi. 297 sq.

⁷ Erskine-Rankine, *Principles of the Law of Scotland*, p. 61.

of nullity, which most of them do not contain, a marriage in disobedience is valid, while yet the participators in it may be subject to a penalty or punishment."¹ In many European countries a marriage entered into without the prescribed parental consent is annulled if the parent whose consent is required demands it, whereas in other countries such a marriage is not invalid but may entail disinheritance.²

Before leaving our present subject, we must still consider the origin of that authority which has given fathers or parents a right to interfere with the marriage of their children even in cases when such interference cannot be regarded merely as a safeguard of the children's own interests.

In the first place, the parental authority obviously depends upon the natural superiority of parents over their children when young, and on the helplessness of the latter; and for similar reasons the daughter, though grown-up, still remains in her father's power. Parents are, moreover, considered to possess in some measure proprietary rights over their offspring, being their originators and maintainers;³ and in various cases, it seems, the father is also regarded as their owner because he is the owner of their mother. Filial duties and parental rights to some extent spring from the children's natural feeling of affection for their parents, particularly for their mother,⁴ and from the debt of gratitude which they are considered to owe to those who have brought them into existence and taken care of them while young.⁵ The authority of parents is much enhanced and extended by the sentiment of filial reverence, as distinct from mere affection. From their infancy children are used to look up to their

¹ Bishop, *New Commentaries on Marriage, Divorce, and Separation*, i. 239 sq.

² Winroth, *Aktenskapshindren*, p. 89 sq. Roguin, *op. cit.* p. 54 sq.

³ Cf. *Vāsishtha*, xv. 1 sq.; *Baudhāyana Parisishta*, vii. 5. 2 sq.

⁴ See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 618 n. 6 sq. It is said in the Talmud that the child loves its mother more than its father, whilst it fears its father more than its mother (Deutsch, *Literary Remains*, p. 55).

⁵ *Hsiao King*, 9 (*Sacred Books of the East*, iii. 479). *Laws of Manu*, ii. 227. Plato, *Leges*, iv. 717.

parents, especially the father, as to beings superior to themselves; and this feeling, which by itself has a tendency to persist, is all the more likely to last even when the parents grow old, as it is based not only on superior strength and bodily skill, but on superior knowledge and wisdom, which remain though the physical power be on the wane. "In the Russian people," says Leroy-Beaulieu, "paternal power is supported by religious feeling and reverence for age. . . . 'Where white hairs are, there is good sense, there is right'—such is, with variations, the burden of many popular proverbs."¹ "Long life and wisdom," say the Iroquois, "are always connected together";² and throughout West Africa the aged are "the knowing ones."³ Among peoples who possess no literature the old men are the sole authorities on religion as well as on custom. In Australia the great deference shown to them is partly due to the superstitious awe of certain mysterious rites which are known to them alone, and to the knowledge of which young persons are only very gradually admitted.⁴ Dr. Rivers takes the magical power of the old men to be the original source of their dominance in Melanesia.⁵ Among the East African Embe "it is only by means of the rankest superstition that the old men are able to maintain their supremacy over the hot-blooded youths"; they convince the warriors, by presenting them with some magic emblem, that in the hands of the sages alone rest the fate and fortune of those who fight in a battle. And old women, also, are often believed to possess supernatural power, in which case their influence, in spite of the subservient position of their sex in general, is almost as great as that of a medicine-man.⁶ Old age itself inspires a feeling of mysterious awe. The

¹ Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.* i. 489.

² Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, i. 15.

³ Miss Kingsley, *West African Studies*, p. 142.

⁴ Schuermann, 'Aboriginal Tribes of Port Lincoln,' in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 226. Cf. Nelson, 'Eskimo about Bering Strait,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xviii. 304.

⁵ Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 108.

⁶ Chanler, *Through Jungle and Desert*, pp. 247, 252

Moors say that, when becoming old, a man becomes a saint, and a woman a *jinnfa*, or evil spirit—there is something supernatural in both.

The beliefs held regarding the dead also influence the treatment of the aged whose lives are drawing to an end. Certain Central African tribes are reported to treat their old people with every kindness in order to secure their good will after death.¹ A missionary in East Africa heard a negro say with reference to an old man, "We will do what he says, because he is soon going to die."² The Niase is an egoist even in his respect for the old, because he hopes that they will protect and assist him when they are dead.³ In China the doctrine that ghosts may interfere at any moment with human business and fate, either favourably or unfavourably, "enforces respect for human life and a charitable treatment of the infirm, the aged, and the sick, especially if they stand on the brink of the grave."⁴ The regard for the aged and the worship of the dead are often mentioned together in a way which suggests that there exists an intrinsic connection between them.⁵ In such cases, however, it is impossible accurately to distinguish between cause and effect. Whilst the worship of the dead is, in the first place, due to the mystery of death, it is evident that the regard in which a person is held during his lifetime also influences the veneration which is bestowed on his disembodied soul.

Among the peoples of archaic culture, in particular, there is a close connection between filial submissiveness and religious beliefs. In China and Japan the reverence for parents almost forms a part of the worship of ancestors. As to the Israelites, Philo Judaeus remarks that the commandment enjoining obedience to parents occupies its position immediately after those prescribing the duties of man towards God because parents are something between divine and human nature, partaking of both—of human nature inasmuch as it is plain that they have been born

¹ Arnot, *Garenganze*, p. 78 note.

² Lippert, *Kulturgeschichte der Menschheit*, i. 229.

³ Modigliani, *Viaggio a Nias*, p. 467.

⁴ de Groot, *op. cit.* (vol. iv. book) ii. 450.

⁵ See Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 621.

and that they will die, and of divine nature because they have engendered other beings, and have brought into existence what did not exist before. . What God is to the world, that parents are to their children ; they are " the visible gods."¹ The religious character of filial duties is very conspicuous both in Muhammadanism and Hinduism. Disobedience to parents is considered by Moslems as one of the greatest of sins, and is put, in point of heinousness, on a par with idolatry, murder, and desertion in an expedition against infidels.² According to ancient Hindu ideas, a father, mother, and spiritual teacher are equal to the three Vedas, equal to the three gods, Brahman, Vishnu, and Siva.³ A man who shows no regard for them derives no benefit from any religious observance ; whereas, " by honouring his mother, he gains the present world ; by honouring his father, the world of gods ; and by paying strict obedience to his spiritual teacher, the world of Brahman."⁴ In the Greek writings there are numerous passages which put filial piety on a par with the duties towards the gods.⁵ To the ancient Romans the parents were hardly less sacred beings than the gods.⁶ In Russia the father, like the Tsar, " was thought to hold from Heaven a sort of right divine, to rebel against which would have been sacrilege."⁷ According to a Slavonic maxim, " a father is like an earthly god to his son."⁸

Among the ancient nations of culture the father was invested with sacerdotal functions. In primitive antiquity, says Fustel de Coulanges, " the father is not only the strong man, the protector who has power to command obedience ; he is the priest, he is heir to the hearth, the continuator of the

¹ Philo Judaeus, *Opera*, i. 759 sqq.

² Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 70.

³ *Institutes of Vishnu*, xxxi. 7. *Laws of Manu*, ii. 230.

⁴ *Institutes of Vishnu*, xxxi. 9 sq. Cf. *Laws of Manu*, ii. 233 sq.

⁵ Schmidt, *Die Ethik der alten Griechen*, ii. 141 sq. *Infra*, ii. 349 sq.

⁶ Valerius Maximus, i. 1. 13 : " Pari vindicta parentum ac deorum violatio expianda est." Servius, *In Virgilii Georgicon*, ii. 473 : " Sacra deorum sancta apud illos sunt, sancti etiam parentes."

⁷ Leroy-Beaulieu, *op. cit.* i. 488.

⁸ Maine, *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 243.

ancestors, the parent stock of the descendants, the depository of the mysterious rites of worship, and of the sacred formulas of prayer. The whole religion resides in him."¹

Another very important reason for the connection between filial submissiveness and religious beliefs was no doubt the extreme importance attached to the curses and blessings of parents. The Israelites believed that parents, and especially a father, could by their blessings or curses determine the fate of their children ;² indeed, we have reason to assume that the reward which in the fifth commandment is held out to respectful children was originally a result of parental blessings. We still meet with the ancient idea in *Ecclesiasticus*, or 'The Book of Sirach,' where it is said :—"Honour thy father in word and deed, that a blessing may come upon thee from him. For the blessing of the father establisheth the houses of children ; but the curse of the mother rooteth out the foundations."³ The Moors have a proverb that "if the saints curse you the parents will cure you, but if the parents curse you the saints will not cure you" ; in other words, the curse of a parent is even stronger than that of a saint.

The notion that the parents' blessings beget prosperity and that their curses bring ruin prevailed in ancient Greece. Plato says in his 'Laws' :—"Neither God, nor a man who has understanding, will ever advise any one to neglect his

¹ Fustel de Coulanges, *La cité antique*, p. 106. *Idem*, *Ancient City*, trans. by Small, p. 116.

² *Genesis*, ix. 25 *sqq.* ; xxvii. 4, 19, 23, 25, 27 *sqq.* ; xlviii. 9, 14 *sqq.* ; xlix. 4, 7 *sqq.* *Judges*, xvii. 2. Cf. Cheyne, 'Blessings and Curses,' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 592 ; Nowack, 'Blessing and Cursing,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, iii. 244.

³ *Ecclesiasticus*, iii. 8 *sq.* Cf. *ibid.* iii. 16. It seems to have been a notion of the ancient Egyptians that a son who accepts the word of his father will attain old age on that account (*Precepts of Ptah-Hotep*, 39). In the *Dhammapada* (109) it is said that to him who always greets and constantly reveres the aged four things will increase, namely, life, beauty, happiness, and power. We have previously noticed the old Aztec idea that irreverence to parents will be followed by an unhappy end (*supra*, ii. 326). It is reasonable to suppose that in these cases, also, the consequences of reverence or irreverence were originally regarded as the result of blessings or curses. Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 624 *sq.*

parents. . . . If a man has a father or mother, or their fathers or mothers treasured up in his house stricken in years, let him consider that no statue can be more potent to grant his requests than they are, who are sitting at his hearth, if only he knows how to show true service to them. . . . Oedipus, as tradition says, when dishonoured by his sons, invoked on them curses which every one declares to have been heard and ratified by the gods, and Amyntor in his wrath invoked curses on his son Phoenix, and Theseus upon Hippolytus, and innumerable others have also called down wrath upon their children, whence it is clear that the gods listen to the imprecations of parents ; for the curses of parents are, as they ought to be, mighty against their children as no others are. And shall we suppose that the prayers of a father or mother who is specially dishonoured by his or her children, are heard by the gods in accordance with nature ; and that if a parent is honoured by them, and in the gladness of his heart earnestly entreats the gods in his prayers to do them good, he is not equally heard, and that they do not minister to his request ? . . . Therefore, if a man makes a right use of his father and grandfather and other aged relations, he will have images which above all others will win him the favour of the gods."¹ We may assume that originally the efficacy of parents' curses and blessings were ascribed to a magic power immanent in the spoken word itself, and that their Erinyes, like those of guests and suppliants² and beggars,³ were only personifications of curses pronounced in case of ill treatment or neglect.⁴ But in this, as in other similar instances,⁵ the

¹ Plato, *Leges*, xi. 930 sq. Cf. *ibid.* iv. 717.

² Aeschylus, *Eumenides*, 545 sqq. Plato, *Epistolae*, viii. 357. Apollonius Rhodius, *Argonautica*, iv. 1042 sq.

³ *Odyssea*, xvii. 475.

⁴ See *Ilias*, xxi. 412 sq. ; Sophocles, *Oedipus Coloneus*, 1299, 1434 ; v. Lasaulx, *Der Fluch bei Griechen und Römern*, p. 8 ; Müller, *Dissertations on the Eumenides*, p. 155 sqq ; Rohde, 'Paralipomena,' in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 1895, pp. 7, 16 sq. Aeschylus (*Eumenides*, 416 sq.) expressly designates the Erinyes by the title of "curses" (*dpaí*), and Pausanias (*Descriptio Graeciae*, viii. 25. 6) derives the name Erinyes from an Arcadian word signifying a fit of anger.

⁵ See Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 563-565, 585 ; ii. 67 sq.

fulfilment of the curse or the blessing came afterwards to be looked upon as an act of divine justice. According to Plato, "Nemesis, the messenger of justice," watches over unbecoming words uttered to a parent; ¹ and Hesiod says that if anybody reproaches an aged father or mother, "Zeus himself is wroth, and at last, in requital for wrong deeds, lays on him a bitter penalty."² It also seems to be beyond all doubt that the *divi parentum* of the Romans, like their *dii hospitales*,³ were nothing but personified curses. For it is said, "If a son beat his parent and he cry out, the son shall be devoted to the parental gods for destruction."⁴

In aristocratic families in Russia children used to stand in mortal fear of their father's curses;⁵ and the country people still believe that a marriage without the parents' approval will call down the wrath of Heaven on the heads of the young couple.⁶ Some of the Southern Slavs maintain that if a son does not fulfil the last will of his father, the soul of the father will curse him from the grave.⁷ The Serbians say, "Without reverence for old men, there is no salvation."⁸

Various uncivilised peoples, also, ascribe great efficacy to the curses or blessings of parents. Among the natives of the Lower Congo children are terribly afraid of their father's curses.⁹ Among the Mpongwe of Western Africa "there is nothing which a young person so much deprecates as the curse of an aged person, and especially that of a revered father."¹⁰ Among the Nandi, "if a son refuses to obey his father in any serious matter, the father solemnly strikes the son with his fur mantle. This is equivalent to a most serious curse, and is supposed to be fatal to the son

¹ Plato, *Leges*, iv. 717. ² Hesiod, *Opera et dies*, 331 sqq. (329 sqq.).

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* i. 580, 585.

⁴ Servius Tullius, in Bruns, *Fontes Juris Romani antiqui*, p. 14, and Festus, *De verborum significatione*, ver. *Plorare*: "Si parentem puer verberit, ast olle plorassit, puer divis parentum sacer esto." Cf. Leist, *Alt-arisches Jus Civile*, i. 184.

I am indebted to Prince Kropotkin for this statement.

Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia*, p. 37. Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 119.

Maine, *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 243.

Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 155.

¹⁰ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 393.

unless he obtains forgiveness, which he can only do by sacrificing a goat before his father."¹ The Barea and Kunáma are convinced that any undertaking which has not the blessing of the old people will fail, that every curse uttered by them must be destructive.² Among the Bogos nobody takes an employment or gives it up, nobody engages in a business or contracts a marriage, before he has received the blessing of his father or his master.³ Among the Herero, "when a chief feels his dissolution approaching, he calls his sons to the bedside, and gives them his benediction."⁴

Why are the blessings and curses of parents supposed to possess such an extraordinary power? One reason is no doubt the mystery of old age and the nearness of death. Not parents only, but to some extent old people generally, are held capable of giving due effect to their good and evil wishes, and this capacity is believed to increase when life is drawing to its close. The Herero, according to Büttner, know really no blessing save that conferred by the father on his death-bed.⁵ According to Teutonic ideas, the curse of a dying person was the strongest of all curses.⁶ A similar notion prevailed among the ancient Arabs;⁷ and among the Israelites the father's mystic privilege of determining the weal or woe of his children was particularly obvious when his days were manifestly numbered.⁸ But, at the same time, parental benedictions and imprecations possess a potency of their own owing to the parents' superior position in the family and the respect in which they are naturally held. The influence which such a superiority has upon

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 879. Among the Masai, again, a maternal uncle "exercises great influence over his nephews, as it is believed that if he were to curse them they would die" (Hollis, 'Note on the Masai System of Relationship,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 478).

² Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 475.

³ *Idem*, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 90 sq.

⁴ Andersson, *Lake Ngami*, p. 228.

⁵ Büttner, 'Sozialpolitisches aus dem Leben der Herero in Damara-land,' in *Ausland*, lv. 852.

⁶ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. 1690.

⁷ Wellhausen, *Reste arabischen Heidentums*, pp. 139, 191.

⁸ Cheyne, in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, i. 592.

the efficacy of curses is well brought out by certain facts. According to the Greek notion, the Erinyes avenged wrongs done by younger members of a family to elder ones, even brothers and sisters, but not *vice versa*.¹ The Arabs in Morocco say that the curse of a husband is as potent as that of a father. The Tonga Islanders believe that curses have no effect "if the party who curses is considerably lower in rank than the party cursed."² Moreover, where the father was the priest of the family, his blessings and curses would for that reason also be efficacious in an exceptional degree.³

However, the facts which we have hitherto considered are hardly sufficient to account for the extraordinary development of the paternal authority in the archaic State. Great though it be, the influence which magical and religious beliefs exercise upon the paternal authority is largely of a reactive character. A father's blessings would not be so eagerly sought for, nor would his curses be so greatly feared, if he were a less important personage in the family. So, too, as Sir Henry Maine aptly remarks, the father's power is older than the practice of worshipping him. "Why should the dead father be worshipped more than any other member of the household unless he was the most prominent—it may be said, the most awful—figure in it during his life?"⁴ We must assume that there exists some connection between the organisation of the family and the political constitution of the society. At the lower stages of civilisation—though hardly at the very lowest—we frequently find that the clan has attained such an overwhelming importance that only a very limited amount of authority could be claimed by the head of each separate family. But, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁵ this was changed when clans and tribes were united into a State. The new State tended to weaken and destroy the clan system, whereas at the same time the family

¹ *Ilias*, xv. 204: "Thou knowest how the Erinyes do always follow to aid the elder-born." Cf. Müller, *Dissertations on the Eumenides*, p. 155 sq.

² Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands*, ii. 238.

³ Cf. Nowack, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, iii. 234 sq.

⁴ Maine, *Dissertations on Early Law and Custom*, p. 76.

⁵ *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, ii. 222 sq.

tie grew in strength. In early society there seems to be an antagonism between the family and the clan. Where the clan bond is very strong it encroaches upon the family feeling, and where it is loosened the family gains. Hence Dr. Grosse may be right in his assumption that the father became a patriarch, in the true sense of the word, only as the inheritor of the authority which formerly belonged to the clan.¹

But whilst in its earlier days the State strengthened the family by weakening the clan, its later development had a different tendency. When national life grew more intense, when members of separate families drew nearer to one another in pursuit of a common goal, when along with industrial progress the younger members of a family became economically more independent of their parents—the family again lost in importance. Other factors also, inherent in progressive civilisation, contributed to the downfall of the paternal power—the extinction of ancestor-worship, the decay of certain superstitious beliefs, the declining influence of religion, and, last but not least, the spread of a keener mutual sympathy throughout the State, which could not suffer that the liberty of children should be sacrificed to the despotic rule of their fathers.

¹ Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie*, p. 219.

CHAPTER XXIII

MARRIAGE BY CONSIDERATION AND BY THE EXCHANGE OF PRESENTS. GIFTS TO THE BRIDE AND TO THE BRIDEGROOM

AMONG the lower races consent to the contraction of a marriage is not generally given for nothing. In most cases some consideration has to be offered to the father or other relatives of the bride, either in the form of the exchange of bride for bride, or of service, or of the giving of property of some kind or other.

"The Australian male," says Mr. Curr, "almost invariably obtains his wife or wives, either as the survivor of a married brother, or in exchange for his sisters, or later on in life for his daughters."¹ Dr. Howitt makes a similar statement:—"It may be safely laid down as a broad and general proposition that among these savages a wife was obtained by the exchange of a female relative, with the alternative possibility of obtaining one by inheritance. (Levirate), by elopement, or by capture. . . It seems to me that the most common practice is the exchange of girls by their respective parents as wives for each other's sons, or in some tribes the exchange of sisters, or of some female relatives by the young men themselves. It must be always borne in mind that in such cases it is not merely the *own* sisters, but also the tribal sisters, who are thus available."² The prevalence of the exchange of bride for bride among the Australian aborigines has been attested by many other writers with regard to

¹ Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 107. See also *Idem*, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, pp. 128, 248.

² Howitt, 'On the Organisation of Australian Tribes,' in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, vol. i. pt. ii. 115 sq.

different tribes,¹ although the custom does not seem to occur in all parts of Australia.² Mr. Taplin says that among the Narrinyeri in South Australia "it is considered disgraceful for a woman to take a husband who has given no other woman for her," and that the right to give a woman away is often purchased from her nearest male relative by those who have no sisters.³

In the western islands of Torres Straits the exchange of "sisters," in the classificatory sense of the word, was the usual method of obtaining a wife.⁴ So also the practice of exchanging women as wives is the rule among the Kiwai Papuans,⁵ and seems to be widespread in New Guinea.⁶ In

¹ *Idem*, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, pp. 177, 178, 211, 217, 222, 237, 242-244, 249, 252, 253, 260, 262 sq. Fison and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, pp. 276, 285, 343. Jung, 'Aus dem Seelenleben der Australier,' in *Mittheil. d. Vereins f. Erdkunde zu Leipzig*, 1877, p. 31 (Narrinyeri). Holden, in Taplin, *Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 17 (Maroura tribe of the Lower Darling). Newland, 'Parkengees, or Aboriginal Tribes on the Darling River,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. Australasia: South Australian Branch*, ii. 21. Beveridge, *Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 24 n. * Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 79, 84. Oberländer, 'Die Eingeborenen der australischen Kolonie Victoria,' in *Globus*, iv. 279. Mathew, *Eaglehawk and Crow*, p. 113. Lang, *Aborigines of Australia*, p. 10 sq. (natives of Moreton Bay). Petrie, *Reminiscences of Early Queensland*, p. 59. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 181. Lumholtz, *Among Cannibals*, p. 164. Brown, 'Three Tribes of Western Australia,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 156. Malinowski, *The Family among the Australian Aborigines*, p. 36 sqq. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 195 sqq. ² See Malinowski, *op. cit.* p. 50 sq.

³ Taplin, *op. cit.* p. 35. Cf. Jung, *loc. cit.* p. 31.

⁴ Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 231. See also Rivers, *ibid.* v. 241.

⁵ Hely, quoted *ibid.* v. 189. Landtman, *Nya Guinea färden*, p. 84.

⁶ Beardmore, 'Natives of Mowat, Daudai, New Guinea,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xix. 460 sq. Vetter, 'Papuanische Rechtsverhältnisse bei den Jabim,' in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 90. Thurnwald, 'Bánaro Society,' in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, iii. 258 sqq. van Hasselt, 'De Huwelijksregeling voor de Papoesche Christenen, op Noord-Nieuw-Guinea,' in *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap*, lviii. 215.

Erromanga of the New Hebrides " girls were often exchanged, though both parties paid as well ; and when a girl was given by one tribe, the people who got her were expected to give in return to her village their first marriageable girl."¹ In the Buin district of Bougainville, in the Solomon Group, the exchange of women is considered the orthodox form of marriage ; but here also payment is needed in addition, although in case the brother of the bride takes the sister of the bridegroom " the payment of an equal amount of money and wares is carefully executed, so that the price for the brides is evenly exchanged."² Among the Sumatrans, according to Marsden, in lieu of paying the *jujur*, or bride price, a virgin is sometimes exchanged for another. A man who has a son and daughter gives the latter in exchange for a wife to the former, and the person who receives her disposes of her as his own child or marries her himself. A brother will give his sister in exchange for a wife, or, in default of such, will procure a cousin for the purpose ; and it is not unusual to borrow a girl from a friend or relation in order to exchange her for a wife, the borrower binding himself to replace her, or to pay her *jujur* when required.³

Among the Buryat the paying of the ordinary bride price, which is very high, is avoided by the custom called *adlayi*, according to which the parents in two families who have sons and daughters exchange brides for their sons ;⁴ and a similar custom exists among some of the Tungus, although among them the father still receives a small *kalym*, or bride price, from the groom.⁵ Among the wild tribes of the Afghan frontier the chief exception from purchase is marriage by exchange ; if in each of two families there is an unmarried son and an unmarried daughter,

¹ Robertson, *Erromanga*, p. 396.

² Thurnwald, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, iii. 274, 285 sq. *Idem*, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 18.

³ Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 259.

⁴ Melnikow, ' Die Burjäten (Burjaten) der Irkutskischen Gouvernements,' in *Verhandl. Berliner Gesellsch. Anthropol.* 1899, p. 441.

⁵ Samokvasoff, quoted by Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 105.

they frequently arrange a mutual double marriage without any payments.¹ The practice of exchanging daughters in marriage is much in vogue among the tribes of Baluchistan² and in Jammu Province of Kashmir, especially in the higher hills, where a man having no daughter to give in exchange finds it very difficult to marry his son.³ Among the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal marriage may likewise be by exchange, or *adala badala*, as it is called, a man giving his own daughter and taking for his son or his brother the other man's daughter.⁴ In the North-Western Provinces of India this custom is in a great measure confined to the lower castes;⁵ and Mr. Ibbetson remarks that in the east of the Punjab "exchange of betrothal is thought disgraceful, and, if desired, is effected by a triangular exchange,—A betrothing with B, B with C, and C with A." But he adds that "in the West, on the contrary, among all classes, in the Hills and Submontane Districts, apparently among all but the highest classes, and among the Jâts, almost everywhere, except in the Jumna District, the betrothal by exchange is the commonest form."⁶ Among the Madigas of Mysore exchange of daughters in marriage "is most commonly in use, the reason being the saving of the bride price by both parties";⁷ whilst among the Idigas, another Dravidian caste of the same province, "when two families exchange daughters, the *tera* or bride price is not, as a rule, paid by either party."⁸ Among the Santals, a primitive tribe of Bengal, a man who has a son and a daughter of marriageable age, and who is not in a position to pay the

¹ Pennell, *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, p. 193.

² Bray, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iv. (Baluchistan) Report, p. 101.

³ Matin-uz-Zaman Khan, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xx. (Kashmir) Report, p. 140.

⁴ Sherring, 'Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 98.

⁵ Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. p. cciv.

⁶ Ibbetson, quoted *ibid.* i. cciv.

⁷ Nanjundayya, *Ethnographical Survey of Mysore*, xvii. 11, quoted by Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 210.

⁸ *Ibid.* xviii. 6, quoted by Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 212.

price for a wife for his son, commissions a go-between to look out for a family in a like position, so that they may exchange daughters for wives to their sons; but in such cases the sister must be younger than her brother.¹

In ancient Arabia two fathers or other guardians might exchange their daughters or the girls under their guardianship instead of paying the *mahr*, or bride price.² Among the peasantry of Palestine, also, the exchange of sisters as wives is not infrequently resorted to by poor people in order to escape the paying of a dowry.³ Among the Senoufo of the French Sudan the price of purchase is often replaced by a woman, the bride's brother receiving, instead of a dowry, a wife who is generally the sister of the bridegroom.⁴ So also the Mossi of the French Sudan practise the exchange of daughters, although the usual way of obtaining a bride among them is to give presents to her parents.⁵ In Southern Guinea, according to Leighton Wilson, "intermarriages among the sea-coast tribes are effected by interchanging sisters or daughters, and not by purchase. The party who make the first overture must take some kind of offering to the parents of the girl; but this is not regarded in the light of purchase money by either party."⁶ In a previous chapter we have noticed the practice of married men exchanging their wives either for a time or for ever.⁷

From these statements it appears that the practice of exchanging bride for bride often occurs side by side with marriage by ordinary purchase as an economic measure intended to save the bride price, whilst in other cases it is the regular method of concluding a marriage. The latter is particularly the case among many of the Australian aborigines. Sir James G. Frazer observes that on account

¹ Campbell, 'Santal Marriage Customs,' in *Jour. Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, ii. 306, 331, quoted by Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 218.

² Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, p. 433.

³ Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 110.

⁴ Delafosse, *Haut-Sénégal-Niger. Le Pays, les Peuples, les Langues, l'Histoire, les Civilisations*, iii. 70 n. 1.

⁵ Tauxier, *Le Noir du Soudan*, p. 544 sq.

⁶ Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 266 sq. ⁷ *Supra*, i. 230 sqq.

of their extreme poverty a wife is among them a man's most valuable possession, and that, having no equivalent in property to give for a wife, an Australian aboriginal native is generally obliged to get her in exchange for a female relative.¹ But there are many peoples who are equally poor or poorer and yet have never been known to give daughters or sisters in exchange for wives. It seems that an important reason for the remarkable prevalence of this practice in Australia is the unusual difficulty in getting a wife, which must to some extent be due to the rigorous class and clan rules greatly restricting the circle within which a man is allowed to marry.² This difficulty does not exist for a man who has a sister to be given in exchange for a wife, because he can thereby get a woman from a class and clan into which he is permitted to marry. If a Kumbo man can marry a Muri woman, the brother of the latter, who is a Muri man, can also marry the sister of the former, who is a Kumbo woman. With special reference to the exchange system in the Solomon Group, Dr. Thurnwald expresses the opinion that "mutual exchange of women probably originated as a pledge of good will in the establishment of friendly relations between two communities"; and he believes that this form of marriage was the original one from which the buying of women with objects of value has been derived. "In cases where mutual exchange became impossible, return was made by objects of value."³ Speaking of the same practice in Baluchistan, Mr. Bray observes that "such a marriage system is in keeping with the whole spirit of a country where most affairs are conducted on a brotherly basis of mutual co-operation."⁴

In this connection may be mentioned the custom of giving a woman in marriage, not in exchange for a bride, but, in the case of an act of homicide, as compensation for the inflicted injury or as a means of reconciling the family of

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 195.

² See *infra*, on Group-marriage and other Group-relations.

³ Thurnwald, in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association*, iii. 258. See also *Idem*, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 18.

⁴ Bray, *op. cit.* p. 101.

the manslayer with that of his victim. This custom is found among the Beni-Amer¹ and Bogos² of North-Eastern Africa, some Ewhe-speaking tribes on the Slave Coast,³ and the Afghans.⁴ Among the Arabic-speaking mountaineers of Northern Morocco, also, a homicide sometimes induces the avenger to abstain from his persecution by giving him his sister or daughter in marriage. Among the Avesta people in ancient Iran women and maidens were in the most serious cases offered as blood price, and Geiger believes that they were married to their new possessors.⁵

More widespread than marriage by exchange is the custom of obtaining a wife by services rendered to her father. This practice is found among many North and South American Indians and some Eskimo⁶; among various

¹ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 322.

² *Idem*, *Die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 84 sq.

³ Spieth, *Die Ewhe-Stämme*, pp. 194, 742.

⁴ Kohler, *Nachwort zu Shakespeare vor dem Forum der Jurisprudenz*, p. 15 sq.

⁵ Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Irānians in Ancient Times*, ii. 34.

⁶ Bridges, 'Manners and Customs of the Firelanders,' in *A Voice for South America*, xiii. 201; King and Fitzroy, *Narrative of the Voyages of the Adventure and Beagle*, ii. 182; Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 132 (Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego). Nordenskiöld, *Indianliv i El Gran Chaco (Sydamerika)*, p. 195 (Chiriguano, Chané). v. Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's zumal Brasiliens*, i. 107, 108, 645. Krause, *In den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, p. 325 (Karayá). von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 332 (BakaÍrÍ). Simson, *Travels in the Wilds of Ecuador*, p. 104 (Canelos Indians). Juan and Ulloa, 'Voyage to South America,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xiv. 521 (Quito Indians). Gumilla, *El Orinoco ilustrado*, ii. 325 sq. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 101 (Arawaks). Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 221 sq. Schmidt, 'Ueber das Recht der tropischen Naturvölker Südamerikas,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xiii. 306 sqq. de Herrera, *General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America, commonly called the West Indies*, iv. 172 (Indians of Yucatan). Fewkes, 'Aborigines of Porto Rico and Neighbouring Islands,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xxv. 48. Perrot, 'Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America,' in Emma Helen Blair's *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, i. 69 (some Algonkin). Marston, 'Letter to Rev. Dr. Jedidiah

Siberian peoples¹ and the Ainu of Japan²; in a large number of aboriginal tribes in China,³ Indo-China,⁴ and India⁵;

Morse, *ibid.* ii. 166 sq. (Sauk and Foxes, Chippewa, Ottawa, Potawatomi). Forsyth, 'Account of the Manners and Customs of the Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians,' *ibid.* ii. 214 (Sauk and Foxes). Carver, *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America*, p. 373 (Naudowessies). Goddard, *Life and Culture of the Hupa*, p. 56. Dixon, 'Notes on the Achomawi and Atsugewi Indians of Northern California,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. x. 217. Swanton, *Haida*, p. 50. Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, i. 406 sq. (Kenai). Dall, *Alaska*, p. 402 (Aleut). Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 198 (Kaniagmiut).

¹ Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 343; Krashennnikoff, *History of Kamtschatka*, p. 212; Dobell, *Travels in Kamtschatka*, i. 82. Bogoras, *Chukchee*, pp. 579, 586, 587, 609. Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 87 sqq. *Idem*, *Koryak*, p. 740; Dittmar 'Über die Koräken und die ihnen sehr nahe verwandten Tschuktschen,' in *Mélanges russes tirés du bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St-Petersbourg*, iii. 24; Kennan, *Tent Life in Siberia*, p. 135 (Koryak). Dall, *op. cit.* p. 519 (Tungus). Georgi, *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, p. 195 (Barabinze). Hämäläinen, *Mordvalaisten, tšeremissien ja votjakkien kosinta- ja häätavoista*, p. 194 (Siberian Tartars). See also *ibid.* p. 189 (Laplanders).

² Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-Lore*, p. 230. Dall, *op. cit.* p. 524. Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 102.

³ Gray, *China*, ii. 304.

⁴ Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States*, i. 522 (some forest tribes on the borders of Burma). Mason, 'Physical Character of the Karens,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. xxxv. pt. ii. 18. Aymonier, quoted by Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, ii. 47 sq. (Cambodians).

⁵ Hodson, *Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 91. Gait, *Census of India*, 1891, Assam, Report, pp. 251, 284 (Kuki-Lushais, Turungs). Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 41, 47, 104, 110 (Nagas of Upper Assam, Kukis, Limbus and Kirāntis, Tipperahs). Stack, *Mikirs*, p. 18 sq. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, pp. 83, 138 (Kukis, Mikirs). Soppitt, *Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, p. 14 sq. Hutchinson, *Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, pp. 135, 155, 167 (Kuki tribes of Chittagong, Tipperahs, Mrús). Endle, *Kacháris*, pp. 44, 45, 85, 86, 95 (Kacháris, Rábhás, Hajongs, and Deoris of Assam). Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, pp. 202, 234 (Tipperahs, Mrús). O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v. (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim) Report, p. 315 (Santals, Mundas, Oráons). Hooker, *Himalayan Journals*, i. 125 (Lepchas). Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian*

in many islands of the Indian Archipelago¹; in Ponapé of the Caroline Islands,² and in New Britain³; and among several African peoples.⁴ The man generally has to go and live with the family of his future spouse for a certain time, *Subjects*, i. 402 (Kirántis of the Central Himalayas). Kealy, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xxii. (Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara) Report, p. 165. Campbell, 'Note on the Limboos,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. ix. pt. i. 603. Hodgson, 'On the Origin, &c. of the Kócch, Bodo, and Dhimal People,' *ibid.* vol. xviii. pt. ii. 735 (Bódo and Dhimals). Hay, 'Túran Mall Hill,' *ibid.* xx. 507 (Bhils). Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, p. 148 sq. (Gonds and Korkús). Grant, *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces of India*, p. 277 (Gonds). Hayavadana Rao, 'Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts,' in *Anthropos*, v. 794 sq. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iii. 80; 395, 467, 558 sq.; iv. 133, 134, 166 (Gonds, Kawars, Kandhs, Korkús, Mahárs, Marárs of Bálāghāt and Bhandāra). Cox, *Madras District Manuals: North Arcot*, i. 213 (Malayális). Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iv. 445 (Mandādan Chettis). Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde*, i. 295 sq.

¹ Marsden, *op. cit.* p. 262 sq. (Sumatrans). Wilken, 'Over het huwelijks- en erfrecht bij de volken van Zuid-Sumatra,' in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xl. 162 sq. Kreemer, 'De Loeboes in Mandailing,' *ibid.* lxvi. 321. Junghuhn, *Die Battaländer auf Sumatra*, ii. 132 sqq. (Batta, natives of Passumah and Palembang). Snouck Hurgronje, *Het Gajöländ en zijne Bewoners*, p. 270 sq. (Gayos of Achin in the north of Sumatra). Adriani and Kruijt, *De Bare'e-sprekende Toradja's van Midden-Celebes*, ii. 27 sq. Treffers, 'Het landschap Laiwoei in Z. O. Celebes,' in *Tijdschrift van het Koninkl. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, ser. ii. vol. xxxi. 209 sq. Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, pp. 67, 131, 171, 205 sq. (Amboyna, Ceram, Ceramlaut, Watubela Islands). Mallat, *Les Philippines*, i. 58; ii. 45. Bowring, *Visit to the Philippine Islands*, p. 144. Lala, *Philippine Islands*, p. 90 sq. Blumentritt, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, p. 14 (Tagalese; Bisayans). Jagor, *Reisen in den Philippinen*, p. 235 (Bisayans). Cole, 'Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' in *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, xii. 101-103, 144, 157, 192. Finley and Churchill, *Subanu. Studies of a Sub-Visayan Mountain Folk of Mindanao*, p. 40.

² Christian, *Caroline Islands*, p. 74.

³ Romilly, 'Islands of New Britain Group,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. N.S.* ix. 8.

⁴ Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 259 (Bushmen). Hahn, *Tsuni-Goam*, p. 18; François, *Nama und Damara Deutsch-*

during which he works as a servant. The period of service varies greatly among different peoples: it seldom lasts less than a year, and may even last as many as ten or twelve or fifteen years.¹ During this time he may² or may not³ have access to the girl. He may have to serve after his marriage as well, until a child is born or longer,⁴ and he may have to remain with his wife's family for ever. But, as has been justly pointed out, a form of marriage under *Süd-West-Afrika*, p. 214 (Hottentots). Casalis, *Basutos*, p. 183. Theal, *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 220 (Makaranga). Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa*, p. 622 (Banyai of the Zambesi River). Fromm, 'Ufipa,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 96. Heese, 'Sitte und Brauch der Sango,' in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* N.S. xii. 135. Fülleborn, *Das Deutsche Njassa- und Ruwuma-Gebiet*, p. 447 (natives of Ukinga). Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, pp. 153, 155 (Tumbuka of British Central Africa). Cunningham, *Uganda*, pp. 302, 304 (Basukuma). Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 232 (Wandorobbo, belonging to the Masai). Tauxier, *op. cit.* p. 366 sq. (Zangas of the French Sudan). Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 63 (people of the Edo country); iv. 61 (Asaba Ibo). *Idem*, *Anthropological Report on Sierra Leone*, i. 100 (Susu). Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 281. Allen and Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition sent to the River Niger, in 1841*, ii. 203 (Edeeyahs of Fernando Po). Lamouroux, 'La région du Toubouri,' in *L'Anthropologie*, xxiv. 682. Poupon, 'Étude ethnographique des Baya,' *ibid.* xxvi. 124.—For the custom of serving for a wife see also Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 318 sqq., and especially Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, ii. 342 sqq.

¹ Dobell, *op. cit.* i. 82 (Kamchadal). Kealy, *op. cit.* p. 165 (Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara). Endle, *op. cit.* p. 45 (Kacháris). Thomas, *Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, iv. 61.

² v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 107 sq. (some Brazilian tribes). Gait, *op. cit.* p. 251 (Rangkhoh of the Kuki-Lushais). Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 202 (Tipperahs). Riedel, *op. cit.* pp. 67, 131 (Amboyna, Ceram).

³ v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 108 (some Brazilian tribes). Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 735. Kealy, *op. cit.* p. 165 (Rajputana and Ajmer-Merwara). Russell, *op. cit.* iii. 80; Grant, *op. cit.* p. 277 (Gonds).

⁴ Marston, *loc. cit.* p. 166 (Sauk and Foxes). Stack, *op. cit.* p. 18 sq. (Mikirs). Soppitt, *op. cit.* p. 15 (Kuki-Lushais). Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 155 (Tipperahs). Hayavadana Rao, in *Anthropos*, v. 795 (Gonds of the Eastern Ghats). Cole, *loc. cit.* pp. 102, 144, 192 (Bagobo, Bila-an, Mandaya of Mindanao). Kreemer, *loc. cit.* p. 321 (Lubus of Sumatra). Treffers, *loc. cit.* p. 210 (natives of South-Eastern Celebes).

which a man is permanently transferred to his wife's family is to be distinguished from the form of marriage under which he serves his father-in-law for a limited time for the wife whom he will afterwards take away with him to his own home ;¹ and I can find no sufficient ground for Maksimoff's suggestion that the custom of serving for a wife is the relic of a former custom by which a man went to live permanently in his father-in-law's house.² Of several peoples we are told that the first wife only is obtained by service.³

In various tribes service is the regular, if not exclusive, method of acquiring a wife. Of the Ainu Pilsudski says that if purchase of a wife occurs either in real life or in the myth, this is usually in places where the Ainu have come into contact with the Gilyak and are influenced by them ;⁴ but it also occurs that an Ainu girl who falls in love with a young man enslaves herself to his parents as a price for their son.⁵ Among the Kamchadal, Chukchee, Koryak, and Yukaghir serving for a wife is likewise the customary form of marriage. The Chukchee call it by a term which means "serving as a herdsman in payment for the bride" ; and this term is so firmly established that it is used even by the Maritime Chukchee, though they have no herds and the bridegroom simply lives in the house of the girl's father and works for him during a certain period.⁶ Yet when a rich Chukchee wants to marry a girl of a poor family, the time of service may dwindle down to nothing ; he gives to the girl's father a few reindeer—which, however, are not called pay for the bride, but a "joyful gift"—or, more frequently, he invites the poor family of his new wife to come to his camp and to live there on his own herd.⁷ Dr.

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 357 sq. Starcke, *The Primitive Family*, p. 39.

² Maksimoff, quoted by Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 83.

³ v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 108 (Brazilian tribes). Carver, *op. cit.* p. 373 (Naudowessies). Bogoras, *op. cit.* p. 586 (Chukchee). Cole, *loc. cit.* pp. 103, 144 (Bagobo, Bila-an of Mindanao). Allen and Thomson, *op. cit.* ii. 203 (Edeeyahs of Fernando Po).

⁴ Pilsudski, quoted by Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 102.

⁵ Batchelor, *op. cit.* p. 230.

⁶ Bogoras, *op. cit.* p. 579.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 586.

Jochelson says that on the *tundra* or steppe " the Yukaghir have borrowed from the Tungus the custom of purchasing the bride and taking her to the bridegroom's house " ; but it is only after serving from one to three years that the bridegroom can carry off his wife to his own home.¹ The same authority remarks that among the Reindeer Koryak a wealthy reindeer-breeder undoubtedly would prefer paying for his wife with reindeer to serving for her, but that this does not occur ; yet if the suit is pressed by an elderly or wealthy man, the service is reduced to a minimum and is performed in a formal manner only.²

Among the Kuki-Lushais of Assam, according to Mr. Soppitt, the preliminaries to an ordinary marriage are as follows :—" A man having taken a fancy to a girl offers a present of liquor to the parents and talks the matter over. Should they be willing to accept him as a son-in-law, he takes up his abode with them for three years, working in the *jhúms*, and practically becoming a bond servant. At the end of this period he is allowed to marry the girl, but even then is not free, as he has to remain on another two seasons, working in the same manner as he did before. At the completion of the five years he is free to build a separate house and start life on his own account. Two rupees is the sum ordinarily paid the parents of the girl, a sum paid evidently more for the purpose of proving a contract than for anything else, the long period of servitude being the real price paid."³ In another account of the Kuki-Lushai tribes we are told that the Rangkhoh tribe prefers marriage by service, the bridegroom residing from three to seven years in his future father-in-law's house ; whereas the Thadoi tribe prefers marriage by purchase.⁴ Among the Tipperahs of the Hill Tracts of Chittagong, when a match is made with the consent of the parents, the young man must serve three, or according to another account two,⁵ years in his father-in-law's house before he obtains his wife or is formally married, though during his time of servitude

¹ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, pp. 87, 93. ² *Idem*, *Koryak*, p. 740.

³ Soppitt, *op. cit.* p. 14 sq.

⁴ Gait, *op. cit.* p. 251.

⁵ Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 155.

or probation the girl is practically his wife.¹ So also among the Mrús, living in the same region, a suitor has to serve three years for his wife ; but if he be wealthy he can dispense with this service by paying 200 or 300 rupees down²—which suggests that among them marriage by purchase is only a substitute for marriage by service. Among the Malayális of North Arcot a man has to serve at least for a year in the house of the bride in order to receive the consent of her parents to marry her.³ In Cambodia, among families in easy circumstances the period of probation is sometimes no longer than fifteen or twenty days.⁴

Among the Bisayans of the Sámar and Leyté islands in the Philippines “ the suitor has to serve in the house of the bride’s parents two, three, and even five years before he takes his bride home ; and money cannot purchase exemption from this onerous restriction.”⁵ In various other tribes in the same group and other islands of the Indian Archipelago service is evidently a regular or necessary preliminary to marriage. Thus it is said of the Lubus of Mandailing in Sumatra that a man is obliged to serve his prospective parents-in-law for two years before marriage, during which he has to perform all kinds of drudgery for them ; and even after his marriage custom imposes on him many obligations as to field labour for the benefit of his wife’s father and mother.⁶

Among the Hottentots the son-in-law was obliged to spend the first year or years of married life in the service of his father-in-law.⁷ Among the Banyai of the Zambesi River, when a young man takes a liking to a girl of another village and her parents have no objection to the match, he is likewise obliged to come and live at their village, where he has to perform certain services for the mother-in-law, such as keeping her well supplied with firewood ; but if he becomes tired of living in this state of vassalage, he may return to his own village on condition that he leaves all

¹ Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 202. ² *Ibid.* p. 234. ³ Cox, *op. cit.* i. 213.

⁴ Aymonier, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 48.

⁵ Jagor, *op. cit.* p. 235.

⁶ Kreemer, *loc. cit.* p. 321.

⁷ Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 18. v. François, *op. cit.* p. 214.

his children behind.¹ Among the Tumbuka of British Central Africa, when a young man's engagement was fixed, he had to go and build a house in the village of his future father-in-law, and, when the rain fell, help him to hoe his garden ; and when all these preliminary arrangements were completed, the marriage took place and the husband became a member of his wife's village. After some years, however, he might return to his own people if he desired to do so, on condition of presenting a slave or a cow to his parents-in-law to redeem himself, though he could never redeem his children.² Among the Edeeyahs of Fernando Po the betrothal must continue at least for two years, "during which time the aspirant to Edeeyah beauty is obliged to perform such labour as would otherwise fall to the lot of his intended wife ; carrying the palm-oil to the market, water for household purposes, planting yams, etc." ; but among this, as among various other peoples, it is only for his first wife that a man has to serve.³ Among the Ekoi of Southern Nigeria a man who desires to marry a certain woman must serve her family for some considerable time, usually from two to three years, during which time he is also expected to make presents to her relations.⁴ Among the Zangas of the French Sudan a suitor does not pay for his wife, but he works instead once a year for three years on the fields of his father-in-law, or rather of the head of the family group to which his father-in-law belongs.⁵

It seems that in most South American tribes which have marriage by service a man can in no other way obtain a father's consent to marry his daughter. Among the Brazilian Indians, according to von Martius, it is especially in the larger, settled hordes and tribes that a wife is acquired by work in the house of the prospective father-in-law ; and a young man may have to work there even for several years with indefatigable diligence, although he lives with his own relations.⁶ Among the Canelos Indians of Ecuador all the

Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 622.

Fraser, *Winning a Primitive People*, p. 153 *sqq.*

Allen and Thomson, *op. cit.* ii. 203.

Talbot, *op. cit.* p. 105.

v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 107.

⁵ Tauxier, *op. cit.* p. 366 *sq.*

bridegroom has to do "is to clear the ground necessary for the chacra, or plantain and yuca plantation."¹ Of the Arawaks of British Guiana Mr. Brett says that "the wife's father expects the bridegroom to work for him in clearing the forest, and in other things, and the young couple often remain with him until an increasing family renders a separate establishment necessary."² But according to Sir Everard F. Im Thurn's description of the Indians of British Guiana, marriage is certainly sometimes by purchase, although a girl may also be given by her parents to a man in recompense for some service done. But "the marriage once arranged, the husband immediately transports his possessions to the house of his father-in-law, and there he lives and works. The head of his family, for whom he is bound to work, and whom he obeys, is not his own father, but his wife's."³ Among the Indians of Yucatan, after the conclusion of a marriage, the husband used to serve his father-in-law four or five years; but if he failed to complete his term of service, he was turned adrift and the woman given to another man.⁴

Among the Naudowessies in the region of the Great Lakes it was customary for a young man to obtain his first wife by residing for a year as a menial servant in the tent of the Indian whose daughter he wished to marry; during that time he hunted and brought all the game he killed to the family of his future wife, and when the year expired the marriage was celebrated.⁵ Marston states that among the Sauk and Foxes the young man has to serve the parents of the girl according to custom, which is until she has a child, hunting in the most industrious manner;⁶ whilst Forsyth says of the same Indians that "if the parents of the girl will not agree to receive property but insist on servitude, the young Indian must come to hunt for his wife's parents for some one, two, or three years as may be agreed on before the parents will relinquish their right to their daughter."⁷ Of the Chippewa, Ottawa, and Potawatomi we are told

¹ Simson, *op. cit.* p. 104.

² Brett, *op. cit.* p. 101.

³ Im Thurn, *op. cit.* p. 221 sq.

⁴ de Herrera, *op. cit.* iv. 172.

⁵ Carver, *op. cit.* p. 373.

⁶ Marston, *loc. cit.* p. 166.

⁷ Forsyth, in Emma Helen Blair's *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, ii. 214.

that a wife is sometimes purchased by the parents of the young man, when she becomes at once his own property, but that the most common mode of procuring a wife in all these tribes is by servitude; and it frequently happens that when an Indian's servitude for one wife has expired, he will take another—his wife's sister perhaps—and again serve her parents according to custom.¹ Perrot wrote of some Algonkin that after the consummation of the marriage the youth was obliged to live with his mother-in-law and work for her during two years.² Among the Haida at Skidegate, from the time a youth became engaged "he went to live with the girl's family, if not already there, and worked for them until his marriage."³ Among the Kenai, an Eskimo people of Alaska, a man must perform a year's service for his bride. He goes to the house of his prospective father-in-law, and, without a word of explanation, begins to heat the bath-room, to bring in water, and to prepare food; if his suit is not rejected he remains as a servant in the house a whole year, after which he receives a reward for his services from the father, and takes his wife home with him.⁴

In many cases marriage by service occurs, not as the regular form of marriage, but as a substitute for marriage by purchase, when the suitor is too poor to pay the ordinary bride price. The Abbé Dubois, in his book on the 'People of India,' which refers chiefly to the Madras Presidency, says that "as the marriage expenses are considerable, we find in all castes a number of young men destitute of the means of defraying them who, in order to procure a wife, have recourse to the same expedient as Jacob employed with Laban"; and he adds that the number of years of service required in these cases is the same as it was in ancient Israel, namely seven.⁵ Marriage by service as a substitute for marriage by purchase is practised in various parts of India, although the period of service varies,⁶ and in other countries as

¹ Marston, *loc. cit.* p. 167.

² Perrot, *loc. cit.* i. 69.

³ Swanton, *op. cit.* p. 50.

⁴ Richardson, *op. cit.* i. 406 sq.

⁵ Dubois, *op. cit.* i. 295 sq.

⁶ Hayavadana Rao, in *Anthropos*, v. 794 (Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts in the Madras Presidency). Grant, *op. cit.* p. 277 (Gonds of the Central Provinces). Russell, *op. cit.* iii. 80, 467 (Gonds of the

well.¹ Thus in Palembang, in the south of Sumatra, a poor suitor binds himself to live with his parents-in-law and labour for them until he has paid for his wife. If it happens that he is unable all his life long to discharge the debt, it is transmitted to his children, who continue like their father in a state of bondage until the daughters, by the bride prices which are paid for them at their marriage, at last succeed in paying the sum which is still owing for the marriage of their mother.² Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast, when a man is too poor to pay even the smallest sum demanded for a wife, he will live with his wife without paying anything for her, unless it be a bottle or two of rum given to the family to drink ; but in that case he generally resides with her family, and gives them his services towards their common support.³ Among the Makaranga of South Africa "a young man too poor to acquire a wife by the transfer of cattle would make an arrangement with the father of a girl to live with her and to serve him, when, as children do not belong to their father until the full *ikazi* (that is, the bride price consisting of cattle) has been transferred, the father of the woman had sole control over all that were born."⁴ Among some other peoples, also, although a man earns his wife by serving her

Central Provinces, Kandhs). O'Malley, *op. cit.* p. 315 (Santals, Mundas, Oraons). Campbell, in *Jour. Asiat. Soc. Bengal*, vol. ix. pt. i. 603 (Limboos of Sikkim and Nepaul). Hodgson, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i. 402 (Kirántis of the Central Himalayas). Endle, *op. cit.* p. 44 sq. (Kacháris). Gait, *op. cit.* p. 225 (Bodo group of tribes in Assam). Hodson, *op. cit.* p. 91 (Nagas ; when service is accepted in lieu of the bride price it is nevertheless the custom to insist on the transfer of some material object, such as a gong, or cloth, or spear). Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 41, 104, 110 (Nagas, Limbus and Kirántis, Tipperahs).

¹ Wilken, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xl. 162 (people of Lampong in the south of Sumatra). Junghuhn, *op. cit.* ii. 132 (Battas). Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* p. 270 sq. (Gayos of Achin). Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 132 (people of Ceram). Lala, *op. cit.* p. 90 sq. (Philippine Islanders).

² Wilken, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xl. 163.

³ Ellis, *Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 281.

⁴ Theal, *op. cit.* p. 220.

parents, he cannot earn his children without paying for them.¹

Among the Mikirs of Assam, again, it appears that marriage by service is not a substitute for marriage by purchase, but an alternative to giving no consideration for a wife. It is said that the mode of marriage among them depends upon the wealth and standing of the parties. If the wedding is *ākejoi*—that is, if no payment is to be made for the bride,—the girl goes with her husband next day to her new home; whereas if it is *ākemèn*, the lad stays in his father-in-law's house. He rests one day, and then works for his father-in-law for a year, or two years, or even it may be for life, according to agreement. There is no money payment in any case. If the girl is an heiress or only daughter, the marriage is usually *ākemèn*, but in the great majority of cases it is *ākejoi*.²

Among various peoples a man cannot obtain a wife by service alone, but, besides serving for her, has to pay a bride price. In some cases the service is a substitute for some part of the purchase-sum. Among the Basukuma, inhabiting a country bordering Lake Victoria on the south-east, the general rule is that some sixty sheep have to be paid as a first instalment, and the young man then goes to live with his father-in-law and serves him for two years in lieu of further instalment.³ Among the Wandorobbo, belonging to the Masai, a bridegroom who is too poor to pay the whole bride price makes up for the remaining portion by hunting for his father-in-law during a few months.⁴ Among the Californian Hupa a poor man "might pay half the usual sum and go to the home of the bride, where he served his father-in-law"; but all offspring of the union belonged to the woman's people.⁵ In other cases, again, service is compulsory in addition to the payment of the bride price.

Thus among the Achomawi and Atsugewi of Northern

¹ Livingstone, *op. cit.* p. 622 sq. (Banyai and other South African peoples). Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 173 (people of Ceramlaut). Adriani and Kruijt, *op. cit.* ii. 24 sq (Bare'e-speaking Toradjas of Central Celebes). Cf. Frazer, *op. cit.* ii. 356, 371.

² Stack, *op. cit.* p. 18 sq.

³ Cunningham, *op. cit.* pp. 302, 304.

⁴ Merker, *op. cit.* p. 232.

⁵ Goddard, *op. cit.* p. 56.

California, after the affair has been settled by the payment of such property as has been agreed on, the suitor takes up his residence with the girl's family and stays there, hunting and working for them for a month or two ; if he has parents, he then takes his wife to their house, but in the contrary case he remains with his wife's family.¹ Concerning the Baya of the French Congo, among whom one price is claimed for the virginity of a girl and another price for marrying her, M. Poupon writes :—" La virginité payée, le prix du mariage payé, ce ne sont pas là encore les seuls versements. Avant le mariage et en dehors des marchandises, le futur gendre a déjà fourni à son beau-père pas mal de journées de travail ; après le mariage, ces obligations subsistent pour le gendre pendant toute sa vie." ² In Ufipa³ and Ukinga⁴ in the former German East Africa a suitor must likewise work for his bride as well as pay for her. Among the Sango in the same part of Africa, after the bride price has been paid, the parents of the girl require that the suitor shall make a garden for them ; they say that they want to see how he can work. If he is lazy or does not execute the work to their satisfaction, the bride price is restored to him and the intended marriage falls through.⁵ So also in the Philippine Islands, in former times, a suitor had not only to pay for his bride but was also obliged to serve for her in the house of her parents ; and it often happened that all his labour was thrown away, because, if he did not please them, they simply chose another man to work for the hand of their daughter.⁶ Among the natives of South-Eastern Celebes a suitor goes to live with the girl's parents, and if after a period of probation they are satisfied with him and the girl returns his affection, he marries her ; but he must pay for her a price which varies from fifty to a hundred guilders.⁷ Among the Yukaghir of the *tundra* a man is not allowed to carry off his wife to his own home unless he has served from

¹ Dixon, in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. x. 217.

² Poupon, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxvi. 124.

³ Fromm, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 96.

⁴ Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 447.

⁵ Heese, in *Archiv f. Anthropol.* N.S. xii. 135.

⁶ Mallat, *op. cit.* i. 58. ⁷ Treffers, *loc. cit.* p. 209 sq.

one to three years in his father-in-law's house and besides paid a certain number of reindeer for her.¹

The practice of serving for a wife is no doubt in a large measure due to the unwillingness of a father to give his daughter in marriage for nothing; this is proved by the many cases in which service is a substitute for ordinary purchase. But from various statements just quoted it appears that it also has another meaning: the period of service is intended to test the young man's ability to work and to show whether he is an acceptable husband and son-in-law. This has been strongly emphasised by Dr. Jochelson. The Yukaghir themselves told him that the time of service was a test. Besides, he adds, there can be purchase by service only when the girl leaves the father's house and goes to live with her husband, depriving the father of a pair of working hands; but among most of the Yukaghir the latter gains a new worker in the person of his son-in-law, who comes to live in his house.² With reference to the Koryak, the same acute observer writes:—"A serving bridegroom is not an ordinary workman. The principal thought is not his usefulness, but the hard and humiliating trials to which he is subjected. The bridegroom is given a poor bed, he is ill-fed, he is not allowed to sleep late, he is sent on exhausting errands. As a herdsman he must pass his nights without sleep, while the proprietor of the herd and the bride's brothers are resting. In a word, during his term of service, his endurance, patience, and meekness, his adroitness as a hunter, and his zeal and frugality as a herdsman, are tested. The bride's father gives his assent to the marriage only after the bridegroom has stood the probation well. This view of the trial of a bridegroom, who must perform tests dangerous to his life, and win contests, is also found in Koryak tales."³ Among the Kamchadal, when the period of service has expired and the suitor requests leave to carry away his bride, the leave is granted him at once if he has earned the approbation of the parents of the bride and of her relations; whereas if he has incurred their

¹ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 93.

² *Ibid.* p. 87.

³ Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 740.

displeasure, they give him some small reward for his services and he departs.¹ In Cambodia the period of service is likewise a period of probation, in which it is the youth's business to render himself agreeable to the young lady as well as to her parents.² In Ponapé, one of the Caroline Islands, the suitor who serves for his wife in the house of the prospective father-in-law "frequently has his pains for nothing."³ Of the Tubori on the border of the Cameroons it is said that the father of the girl often tests the suitor by making him work for him; and if he is satisfied he fixes the price to be paid, which may amount even to eight or ten bullocks.⁴ Speaking of the service of the bridegroom among the Naudowessies, Carver observes that by this means "the father has an opportunity of seeing whether he is able to provide for the support of his daughter and the children that might be the consequence of their union."⁵ Among the South American Indians the services which a man has to render his intended father-in-law are obviously, to a large extent, meant to be a test of his ability.⁶

Spencer believed that the obtaining of wives by services rendered, instead of by property paid, constitutes a higher form of marriage, and is developed along with the industrial type of society. "This modification," he says, "practicable with difficulty among rude predatory tribes, becomes more practicable as there arise established industries affording spheres in which services may be rendered."⁷ This view, however, is not borne out by facts. Marriage by service occurs, nay flourishes, among hunting tribes; and in other cases also the services required of a suitor are not such as presuppose any higher development of economic culture. On the other hand, where there is marriage by purchase

¹ Krasheninnikoff, *op. cit.* p. 212.

² Aymonier, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 47.

³ Christian, *op. cit.* p. 74.

⁴ Lamouroux, in *L'Anthropologie*, xxiv. 682.

⁵ Carver, *op. cit.* p. 373.

⁶ Nordenskiöld, *op. cit.* p. 195. v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 645. von den Steinen, *op. cit.* p. 332. Schmidt, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xiii. 307.

⁷ Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 721.

there must be some accumulation of property. Hence service as a substitute for the normal form of purchase may be said to be found among more advanced savages alone.

Most frequently the consideration given for a wife consists of property of some kind or other. The amount varies greatly among different peoples. In the lowest tribes it is very inconsiderable. Among the Veddas of Ceylon some food is presented to the parents of the girl,¹ or nothing at all is, apparently, given for her.² Among the Sakai of Perak the bridegroom makes a present to his prospective father-in-law of certain specified articles, for example, a knife, or a hatchet, or yams, "according to his means";³ whilst among the Orang Sletar of the Orang Laut a mouthful of tobacco and one *chupah* of rice handed to the mother of the bride confirmed the hymeneal tie.⁴ A Negrito of Bataan, in Luzon, does not buy his wife; he only offers a small present to his future father-in-law, who in return gives to his daughter a few objects, which remain her personal property.⁵ In some Australian tribes, which have not the custom of exchanging females, the bridegroom supplies his father- or parents-in-law with game, or in addition presents the former with boomerangs and other weapons.⁶ Con-

¹ Hartshorne, 'Weddas,' in *Indian Antiquary*, viii. 320. Lamprey, quoted by Dechamps, 'Les Veddas de Ceylan,' in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 313.

² Le Mesurier, 'Veddás of Ceylon,' in *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Ceylon Branch*, ix. 340. Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, iii. 460 sq.

³ de Morgan, 'Mœurs, coutumes et langages des Négritos de l'intérieur de la presqu'île Malaise,' in *Bull. Soc. normande de Géographie*, vii. 421. Low, 'Karean Tribes or Aborigines of Martaban and Tavai,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, iv. 431. [Maxwell,] 'Semang and Sakei Tribes,' in *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc. Straits Branch*, no. 1, p. 112.

⁴ Thomson, 'Remarks on the Sletar and Sabimba Tribes,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, i. 341*.

⁵ Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines et en Malaisie*, p. 71.

⁶ Howitt, *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 220. Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, vol. iv. pt. i. 90, 100. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 77 n. 1. Malinow ki, *op. cit.* p. 51.

cerning the Central African Pygmies, Grenfell says that marriage among them "is little else than the tendering of a gift of arrow heads or knives or other objects of local value to the father of the girl, who is thereby acquired by the purchaser; though no doubt inclination counts for much in the bargain."¹ According to Hutereau, again, a man acquires a girl for wife by offering to her father two animals killed in the chase and to her mother a dog.² Among the Namib Bushmen some food, blankets, and furs are given to the prospective parents-in-law.³

Among many tribes of a more advanced type the consideration given for a wife is likewise of small value. It is often represented as a gift only, the offering and acceptance of which constitute no act of purchase; whereas in other cases it is of a considerable amount and makes the conclusion of a marriage a genuine business transaction. The following facts may serve as illustrations of the quality and quantity of objects given for a bride among uncivilised peoples in different parts of the world.

Among the Eskimo there is certainly no regular system of marriage by purchase.⁴ Among the Angmagsalikis on the east coast of Greenland, according to Holm, the young man may have to give to the father a harpoon or some similar article to get his daughter in marriage, but it also happens that good hunters are paid by fathers to marry their daughters.⁵ Among the Eskimo of the Ungava district, Hudson's Bay Territory, "the sanction of the parents is sometimes obtained by favor or else bought by making certain presents of skins, furs, and other valuables to the father and mother."⁶ Among the Eskimo round Repulse

¹ Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, ii. 674. See also Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria*, i. 157.

² Hutereau, *Notes sur la Vie familiale et juridique de quelques populations du Congo Belge*, p. 4.

³ Trenk, 'Die Buschleute der Namib,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxiii. 168.

⁴ Cf. Gilbertson, *Some Ethical Phases of Eskimo Culture*, p. 65.

⁵ Holm, 'Ethnologisk Skizze af Angmagsalikerne,' in *Meddelelser om Grønland*, x. 96.

⁶ Turner, 'Ethnology of the Ungava District, Hudson Bay Territory,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 188.

Bay the father who selects a little girl for his young boy to be his daughter-in-law pays her father something—perhaps a snow-knife or a sled or a dog or, nowadays, a handful of powder and a dozen percussion caps.¹ Of the Central Eskimo Dr. Boas simply says that the bride must be bought from the parents by some presents.²

Of the North American Indians in general it has been said that "the economic factor is everywhere potent," but that an actual purchase is not common.³ Among the Delaware, for instance, certain formal presents were made, the acceptance of which meant a favourable decision on the part of the parents of the girl.⁴ Among the Omaha "suitors may carry favor with parents and kindred of the girl by making presents to them, but parents do not sell their daughters. The presents made for such a purpose are generally given by some old man who wishes to get a very young girl whom he is doubtful of winning. Where a man courts the girl directly this is unnecessary. Then he gives what he pleases to her kindred, and sometimes they make presents to him."⁵ Of the Hidatsa, another Dakotan tribe, we are told that marriage is usually made formal by the distribution of gifts on the part of the man to the woman's relations.⁶ Among other North American tribes the consideration is of greater importance, and may have the character of a genuine bride price. In some parts of British Columbia and Vancouver Island the value of the articles given for the bride ranged from £20 to £40 sterling.⁷ The Indians of Oregon bought their wives for horses, blankets, or buffalo robes.⁸ Among the Shastika in California "a wife is purchased of her father for shell-money or horses,

¹ Gilder, *Schwatka's Search*, p. 249 sq.

² Boas, 'Central Eskimo,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* vi. 579.

³ Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians*, i. 809 sq. Cf. Kohler, 'Die Rechte der Urvölker Nordamerikas,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xii. 380 sqq.

⁴ Harrington, 'Preliminary Sketch of Lenápe Culture,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xv. 215.

⁵ Dorsey, 'Omaha Sociology,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* iii. 259 sq.

⁶ Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 52. ⁷ Macfie, *Vancouver Island and British Columbia*, p. 446.

⁸ Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, v. 654.

ten or twelve cayuse ponies being paid for a maid of great attractions."¹ Among the Californian Hupa "a man's standing in the world depended on the amount of money which had been paid for his mother at the time of her marriage. If the sum were large he was the peer of any in the tribe."² The worth and attractiveness of an Apache woman are exalted in exact proportion to the number of horses given for her; "if a girl is sold for one animal, no matter how good, she is deemed of little account."³ Among the Navaho the value of the presents which the bridegroom's people must give the bride's family ranges from five to fifteen horses.⁴

Among the South American Indians the consideration given for a wife, if any, likewise varies greatly in different tribes. A Huitoto bridegroom gives a small quantity of coca or tobacco to the *capitàn*, or chief of the subtribe, to obtain his approval, and cuts a supply of firewood for his future mother-in-law; and shortly afterwards the girl is given to him.⁵ Among the Purís, Coroados, and Coroapôs some game and fruits only are given by the bridegroom for his bride immediately before marriage, whereas the more civilised tribes of the Brazilian aborigines carry on an actual trade in women.⁶ The price paid for a Goajiro girl chiefly consists of cattle.⁷ Among the Mocobis in the southern part of the Gran Chaco a girl was given in marriage either for some tiger furs or for one or two horses, a cow, and a few ornaments.⁸ The Patagonians give mares, horses, or silver ornaments for their brides; even a hundred mares have been paid for an heiress who has animals of her own.⁹

¹ Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 247. ² Goddard, *op. cit.* p. 56.

³ Cremony, *Life among the Apaches*, p. 247.

⁴ Stephen, 'Navajo,' in *American Anthropologist*, vi. 356. Cf. Schoolcraft, *op. cit.* iv. 214; Letherman, 'Sketch of the Navajo Tribe of Indians,' in *Smithsonian Report*, 1855, p. 294.

⁵ Hardenberg, *Putumayo*, p. 154. ⁶ v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 109 sq.

⁷ Simons, 'Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. N.S.* vii. 792.

⁸ Kohler, *Pater Florian Baucke*, p. 315.

⁹ Musters, 'On the Races of Patagonia,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* i. 201. Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 124. Prichard, *Through the Heart of Patagonia*, p. 93.

Among African peoples the bride price is frequently paid in cattle or goats. Among the Kafirs it used to average ten or twelve cattle for ordinary people ; a chief would have to pay fifty or a hundred cattle or more, according to his riches, whereas a poor man often obtained a wife for an ox or a couple of cows.¹ Among the Herero much less was given for a wife, and a rich man or a man of rank gave no more than a poor one ; " custom required that when a woman went to live with a man he should transfer to her father or guardian a large ox, a heifer, a large fat sheep, a ewe with a lamb, and a young ewe, but the most valuable of these animals were at once strangled and eaten at the feast which was the only ceremony attending the alliance."² Among the Banyoro the sum demanded by the wealthier people was from ten to twenty cows.³ In Lendu, in Uganda, the amount of the bride price fixed by general custom is sixteen cows and one hundred goats.⁴ Among the lower orders of the Baganda the ordinary price of a wife was either three or four bullocks, six sewing needles, or a small box of percussion caps ; but Mr. Wilson was often offered one for a coat or a pair of shoes.⁵ Among the Batamba a chief has to give three or four cows for a wife, whereas an ordinary peasant is required to give only six or seven goats.⁶ Among the Bantu Kavirondo the price to be paid for a wife is generally considered to be forty hoes, twenty goats, and one cow, though more cows are paid if the girl is the daughter of an important chief.⁷ The usual price for a Nandi girl is at the present time one bull, one cow, and ten

¹ Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 214. v. Weber, *Vier Jahre in Afrika*, ii. 215. Barrow, *Account of Travels into the Interior of Southern Africa*, i. 206.

² Theal, *op. cit.* p. 219. Cf. Chapman, *Travels in the Interior of South Africa*, i. 341 ; Viehe, in Steinmetz, *Rechtsverhältnisse von eingeborenen Völkern in Afrika und Ozeanien*, p. 307.

³ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 39. ⁴ Cunningham, *Uganda*, p. 328.

⁵ Wilson and Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan*, i. 187. Felkin, 'Notes on the Waganda Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xiii. 756.

⁶ Condon, 'Contribution to the Ethnography of the Basoga-Batamba, Uganda Protectorate,' in *Anthropos*, vi. 371.

⁷ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 747.

goats, though formerly the price was higher.¹ Among the Akamba forty to fifty goats are on an average paid for a bride, besides some cattle, generally two cows and two bulls or oxen ; but a rich man may pay a hundred goats or even more.² If a Kikúyu wishes to buy a wife he must pay so many "goats," generally thirty, though the actual payment may take the form of cattle, sheep, and goats.³ Among the Bangala of the Upper Congo River, again, "a free man marrying a free woman would have to give her father and family two male and two female slaves, and no money or goods would be taken in lieu of them."⁴ So also among the Mandingo of Senegambia, according to Caillié, no wife was to be had otherwise than by the presentation of slaves to the parents of the mistress.⁵ Among the Ewhe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the payment of "head-money," which constitutes a marriage, may be in actual coin or cowries, or, as is more commonly the case, in merchandise and rum.⁶ Among the Wayao of the former German East Africa, according to Dr. Weule, who have neither large herds of horned cattle nor abundance of sheep or goats, the whole "purchase" of a wife—were it correct, which it is not, to call the transaction by that name—is effected by handing over a moderate quantity of calico.⁷

Among the Ugro-Finnic and Turko-Tartar peoples of the former Russian empire the payment of a bride price, or *kalym*, has been, or still is, an essential condition of the conclusion of a marriage.⁸ Among the Votyak it rises to

¹ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 61.

² Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 70. Cf. Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 62. ³ Routledge, *With a Prehistoric People*, pp. 44, 123, 125.

⁴ Weeks, 'Anthropological Notes on the Bangala of the Upper Congo River,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxix. 440.

⁵ Caillié, *Travels through Central Africa to Timbuctoo*, i. 348.

⁶ Ellis, *Ewhe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 199.

⁷ Weule, *Native Life of East Africa*, p. 306.

⁸ Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 28-31, 103-105, 145, 186 sqq. v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten und einiger anderer finnisch-ugrischer Völkerschaften*, p. 27 sqq. Porthan, 'Anmärkingar rörande Finska Folkets läge och tillstånd,' in *Kongl. Vitterhets, Historie och Antiquitets Academiens Handlingar*, iv. 19. Topelius, *De modo matrimonii jungendi apud Fennos quondam vigente*, § 8 sqq. Castrén, in *Litterära Soiréer*, 1849, p. 13.

150 roubles, besides cattle and fowls ;¹ among the Mordvin to 200 roubles, besides corn, clothes, and food ;² among the Cheremiss even to 500 roubles.³ A rich Ostyak girl is not married without a gift of one hundred reindeer and an assortment of all kinds of furs.⁴ Among the Samoyed the *kalym* generally consists of a variety of clothes, household necessities, reindeer, and small articles purchased from the Russians ;⁵ among the Tungus, of reindeer ;⁶ among the Buryat, of cattle and *malykh*, that is, calves still unborn.⁷ Rich Baskir pay sometimes even 3,000 roubles for a wife, but the poorest may buy one for a cart load of wood or hay.⁸

Among the aboriginal tribes of India the consideration given for a bride varies greatly. Sometimes the rate is very high ; the Lushais have been known to give as much as Rs.200 for their wives.⁹ Among the Moráns of Assam a price of some Rs.20-100 is paid to the bride's parents, and a pearl is given both to them and to other relatives of the girl.¹⁰ Among the Kisáns of the Central Provinces "two baskets of rice and a rupee in cash constitute the compensatory offering given to the parents of the girl."¹¹ Among the Mishmis a rich man gives for a wife twenty mithuns (a kind of oxen), but a poor man can get one for a pig.¹² Among the Kunnuvans, a hill tribe of the Palnis in South India, the bride price is invariably fixed at Rs.10½ in all cases, whether the parties be rich or poor.¹³

In the Indian Archipelago the bride price is paid in articles of value or in money.¹⁴ Among the Battas of Sumatra, for instance, an arm-ring or some other valuable object is given to the father of the bride.¹⁵ In Tenimber the price

¹ Härmäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 145. ² *Ibid.* p. 29. ³ *Ibid.* p. 103 sq.

⁴ Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 126. ⁵ *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 106. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 118. ⁸ Vámbéry, *op. cit.* p. 505.

⁹ Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i. (India) Report, p. 257.

¹⁰ Endle, *op. cit.* p. 89.

¹¹ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 132.

¹² Griffith, *Journals of Travels in Assam, Burma, Bootan, Affghani-stan and the Neighbouring Countries*, p. 35.

¹³ Dahinen, 'Kunnuvans or Mannadis,' in *Anthropos*, v. 326.

¹⁴ Wilken, 'Plechtigheden en gebruiken bij verlovings en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxv 209 sqq.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 210.

consists of gold ear-rings and elephants' tusks, which are indispensable.¹ So also in Timorlaut "no wife can be purchased without elephants' tusks."² Among the Subanu of Mindanao the bride price, or *laxa*, is generally paid in the form of cloth, Chinese jars, and brass gongs, seldom in money.³ In British New Guinea arm shells made from the shell of *Conus millepunctatus*, pearl shells, dogs' teeth and other ornaments, and pigs figure prominently among the presents given for a bride.⁴ From Dutch New Guinea we hear of tobacco as the most valued present.⁵ In the Bismarck Archipelago the bride price varies between fifteen and two hundred strings of shell money.⁶ In Florida, in the Solomon Group, it consists of "from fifty to a hundred *rongo*, coils of native money";⁷ in the Banks Islands of money and pigs;⁸ at Lepers' Island of pigs and mats.⁹ In Samoa the gifts of the bridegroom included canoes, pigs, and foreign property of any kind which might fall into the hands of the natives.¹⁰ In the Caroline Islands "the man

¹ Anna Forbes, *Insulinde*, p. 170.

² Forbes, 'On the Ethnology of Timor-laut,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xiii. 11. ³ Finley and Churchill, *op. cit.* p. 29 sq.

⁴ Seligman, *op. cit.* pp. 77, 78, 89, 267 n. 2, 268, 506. Williamson, *Mafulu Mountain People of British New Guinea*, p. 173.

⁵ Moszkowski, 'Die Völkerstämme am Mamberamo in Holländisch-Neuguinea,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 322.

⁶ Pfeil, *Studien und Beobachtungen aus der Südsee*, p. 28. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 12 (Buin).

⁷ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 238.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 239.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 242.—For marriage by consideration in Melanesia see also Romilly, *Western Pacific and New Guinea*, p. 27, and Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 84 (New Britain); Elton, 'Notes on Natives of the Solomon Islands,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvii. 95; Guppy, *Solomon Islands*, p. 45; Penny, *Ten Years in Melanesia*, p. 93 (Solomon Islands); Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 18; Ribbe, *Zwei Jahre unter den Kannibalen der Salomo-Inseln*, p. 270; Macdonald, *Oceania*, p. 194, and Meinicke, *Die Inseln des Stillen Oceans*, i. 203 (New Hebrides); Robertson, *Erromanga*, p. 396; Moncelon, in *Bull. Soc. d'Anthr. Paris*, ser. iii. vol. ix. 367 (New Caledonia); Thomson, *Fijians*, p. 201 sq., and Wilkes, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, iii. 92 (Fiji).

¹⁰ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 93. Stair, *Old Samoa*, 172 sq.

makes a present to the father of the girl whom he marries, consisting of fruits, fish, and similar things." ¹

Among some tribes the bride price is uniformly fixed by custom,² but more frequently it varies according to the circumstances. It is greatly influenced by the rank and wealth of the families of the parties or of one of them.³ Sometimes each family has an unalterable long-established price for all its maidens,⁴ or the sum demanded for a bride is the same as was paid for her mother.⁵ In many cases the bride price is influenced by the personal qualities of the

¹ v. Kotzebue, *Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits*, iii. 210.

² Theal, *op. cit.* p. 219; Viehe, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 307 (Herero). Dahlgrün, 'Heiratsgebräuche der Schambaa,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xvi. 228. Dahmen, 'Kunnuvans or Mannadis, a Hill-Tribe of the Palnis, South India,' in *Anthropos*, v. 326. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, i. p. ccv.

³ Sproat, *Scenes and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 97 (Noötkä). Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 50. Andersson, *Notes on Travel in South Africa*, p. 236 (Ovambo). Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 344 (Konde people in the former German East Africa). Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, p. 113. Dennett, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort (French Congo)*, p. 20. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 7. Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 199. *Idem*, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 182. Nachtigal, *Sahara und Sudan*, i. 448 (Tedā); ii. 177 (Baele). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 240 (Marea). Georgi, *op. cit.* p. 431 (Buryat). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 145 (Votyak). Neumann, *Russland und die Tscherkessen*, p. 117 (Circassians). Scott Robertson, *Kafirs of the Hindu-Kush*, p. 535. Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 97 (Chukmas). Shakespear, *Lushei Kuki Clans*, p. 51. Hodson, *Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 89 sq. (Tankhuls). Rowlatt, 'Report of an Expedition into the Mishmee Hills,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. xiv. pt. ii. 488. Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 101 (Bagobo of Mindanao). Vetter, in *Nachrichten über Kaiser-Wilhelms-Land*, 1897, p. 90 (Jabim). Pfeil, *op. cit.* p. 28 (natives of the Bismarck Archipelago). Ribbe, *op. cit.* p. 141; Penny, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Solomon Islanders). v. Kotzebue, *op. cit.* iii. 210 (Caroline Islanders). Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 292 sq.

⁴ Annandale and Robertson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, ii. 74 (Patani Malays).

⁵ Rose and Brown, 'Lisu (Yawyin) Tribes of the Burma-China Frontier,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, iii. 263.

girl, such as her beauty, strength, and ability.¹ Among some Ibo-speaking people of Nigeria a tall, well-grown girl with a smooth skin and other desirable attributes may fetch from £25 to £40, whereas the father of an ugly girl may be glad to get three goats for his daughter;² and among the Californian Karok a girl belonging to an aristocratic family who is pretty and skilful in making acorn-bread and weaving baskets may cost two strings of dentalium shell, though other girls may be obtained for half a string.³ A virgin or a girl generally, though not always,⁴ commands a better price than a widow or a repudiated wife.⁵ But on the other hand a widower or an elderly man marrying a young girl may also have to pay much more than the usual amount for his wife.⁶ Among the Mordvin a higher price is paid for a girl below the age of twenty than for one above that age.⁷ The Baniyas of India, again, pay no bride price for

¹ v. Weber, *op. cit.* ii. 215 sq. (Kafirs). Wiese, 'Beiträge zur Geschichte der Zulu im Norden des Zambesi, namentlich der Angoni,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxii. 191. Majerus, 'Brautwerbung und Hochzeit bei den Wabende (Deutsch-Ostafrika),' in *Anthropos*, vi. 894 sq. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 43 (Nagas). Borheck, *Erdbeschreibung von Asien*, i. 540 (Tartars of Kazan). Lansdell, *Through Siberia*, ii. 225 (Gilyak). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 145 (Votyak). Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 295.

² Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 63.

³ Powers, *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁴ Hurel, 'Religion et Vie domestique des Bakerewe,' in *Anthropos*, vi. 287. Merker, *op. cit.* p. 46 (Masai). *Supra*, ii. 33.

⁵ Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 34 (Banaka and Bapuku of the Cameroons). Tellier, *ibid.* p. 152 (Bambara). Nassau, *op. cit.* p. 7 (West Africans). Felkin, 'Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xii. 323. Kovalevsky, *Coutume contemporaine et loi ancienne*, p. 163 (Ossetes of Caucasia). Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i. (India) Report, p. 257 (aboriginal tribes). Finley and Churchill, *op. cit.* p. 40 (Subanu of Mindanao). Post, *Die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 41 sq. *Idem*, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 293 sq.

⁶ Bainbridge, 'Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, ii. 57. Shortt, *Hill Ranges of Southern India*, ii. 40 (Malliallies, or hill men inhabiting the Shevaroyes in the Salen district).

⁷ Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 30.

a girl up to the age of eight, but after that payment is made at the rate of Rs.100 for every year of her age up to thirteen, which is regarded as the age of puberty.¹

The consideration for a bride is in most cases given to her father, but he may have to share it with other members of the family or relatives of the girl, or special presents are given to them;² or the bride price, or some of it, is

¹ Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i. (India) Report, p. 257.

² Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, i. 92 (Aleut). Turner, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xi. 270 (Hudson's Bay Indians). Powers, *op. cit.* p. 270 (Achomawi of Northern California). Loskiel, *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America*, i. 57 (Delaware, &c.). La Flesche, 'Osage Marriage Customs,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xiv. 128. de Alcedo, *Geographical and Historical Dictionary of America and the West Indies*, i. 416; Pöppig, *Reise in Chile*, i. 383 sq. (Araucanians). Kropf, *Das Volk der Xosa-Kaffern im östlichen Südafrika*, pp. 134, 145. v. Eberstein, 'Ueber die Rechtsanschauungen der Küstenbewohner des Bezirkes Kilwa,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* ix. 181. Velten, *Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli*, p. 109. Kraft, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 286 (Wapokomo). Dundas, 'Notes on the Tribes inhabiting the Baringo District, East Africa Protectorate,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 68 (Turkana). Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, p. 39 (Bavili). Nassau, *op. cit.* p. 7 (West Africans). Spieth, *Die Ewe-Stämme*, p. 62 *. Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 34 (Banaka and Bapuku). Baskerville, *ibid.* p. 189; Roscoe, *Baganda*, p. 89 (Baganda). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 487 (Barea and Kunáma). Kovalewsky, *op. cit.* p. 175 sq. (Ossetes of the Caucasus). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 190 (Baltic Finns). Pallas, *Merkwürdigkeiten der obischen Ostjaken, Samoyeden, &c.*, p. 66 (Samoyed). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* pp. 100, 108, 124 (Gilyak, Yakut, Samoyed). Sumner, 'Yakuts,' from the Russian of Sieroshevski, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxi. 85. Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 95 (Yukaghir of the tundra). Jagor, *op. cit.* p. 172 (Igorot of Ysarog). Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 102 (Bagobo of Mindanao). Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, pp. 76, 77, 363 n. 1, 710 (Koita, Mekeo tribes, Southern Massim). Hagen, *Unter den-Papua's*, p. 224 (natives of Bogadjim). Moszkowski, 'Die Völkerstämme am Mamberamo in Holländisch-Neuguinea und auf den vorgelagerten Inseln,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 322. Thurnwald, 'Ermittlungen über Eingeborenenrechte der Südsee. A. Buin auf Bougainville (Deutsche Salomo-Inseln),' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xxiii. 337; *Idem*, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 13, 18 (natives of Buin). Gason, 'Of the Tribes, Dieyerie, &c.,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxiv. 169 (Dieri).

paid to the whole clan of the bride.¹ Her mother, in particular, is a frequent recipient.² In some cases the consideration, or a large part of it, is given to the maternal uncle,³ whilst in other cases he is specially mentioned among

¹ Martin, *Reisen in den Molukken*, p. 289 (Waëpote in Buru).

² François, *op. cit.* p. 214 (Hottentots). Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, pp. 232, 233, 347 (natives of the Portuguese Zambesi, Wanyamwezi). v. Eberstein, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* ix. 181 (natives of Kilwa in the former German East Africa). Dahlgrün, *ibid.* xvi. 223 (Shambaa). Velten, *op. cit.* p. 109 (Swahili). Hollis, *Masai*, p. 302; Merker, *op. cit.* p. 45 (Masai). Hobley, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 63. Dundas, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 68 (Turkana of the Baringo district in the East Africa Protectorate). Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas*, ii. 142 (Galla). Talbot, 'Buduma of Lake Chad,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xli. 247. Thomas, *Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 63. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 113 (Kru people on the Grain Coast). Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 143. Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. 185 (Betsimisarakã). Kovalevsky, *op. cit.* p. 163 sq. (Ossetes). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 104 (Cheremiss). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 124 (Samoyed). Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 743. Sherring, 'Notes on the Bhotias of Almora and British Garhwal,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 108 (Bhotias of the Darma pargana). Sarat Chandra Roy, *Orãons of Chôlã Nãgpur*, p. 365. Pardo de Tavera, 'Las costumbres de los tagalos de Filipinas según el Padre Plasencia,' in *Revista contemporánea*, lxxxvi. 466 sq. n. 1. Worcester, *Philippine Islands and their People*, p. 493 (Tagbanuas of Culion and Busuanga). Sorge, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 406; Pfeil, *op. cit.* p. 28 (natives of the Bismarck Archipelago). Mrs. Langloh Parker, *Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 58.

³ Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 142 sq. 'Negersitten,' in *Das Ausland*, liv. 1026 (Negroes of Bondo). Munzinger, *op. cit.* p. 528 (Barea and Bazes). Neuhauss, *Deutsch Neu-Guinea*, i. 160. Pfeil, *op. cit.* p. 28 (natives of the Bismarck Archipelago). Schnee, *Bilder aus der Südsee*, p. 99 (natives of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain). Kubary, 'Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln,' in *Mittheil. Geograph. Gesellsch. Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 262. Among the Goajiros of Colombia the maternal uncles are, according to one account (Nicholas, 'Aborigines of the Province of Santa Marta, Colombia,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. iii. 648), supposed to take charge of the bride price, whereas according to another account (Simons, in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc.* N.S. vii. 792) it is fixed by the father, who appropriates the best part of it for himself and his relations, the rest going to the mother's relatives.

the recipients.¹ The brothers of the bride may also play a prominent part in the transactions.² Among the Tehuelches of Patagonia "a girl's value often depends upon the number of her brethren, who must receive two horses apiece."³ In the southern Chin Hills the eldest brother takes the largest share, whilst "the remainder is divided amongst the parents, sisters, brothers, cousins, uncles, aunts, and the Chiefs of the tribe: even the slaves of the house expect presents."⁴ Among the Jabim of New Guinea the maternal relatives divide the bride price between themselves,⁵ in Ufipa in the former German East Africa they receive one half of it,⁶ among the Wabende they receive one third.⁷ At Bogadjim in the former German New Guinea, when a girl marries into another village, something must be paid not only to the bride's parents or family, but also to the other members of her village.⁸ In the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea the bride's father shares the bride price among his relatives and the members of his local group.⁹ Among the Bayaka of the Congo her father must pay a goat to his chief, because the bride goes out of the village.¹⁰ Among the Turkana of the Baringo district in the East Africa Protectorate the bridegroom must give five head of cattle to each of his other wives.¹¹ Among the Bagobo of Mindanao a man, though he serves for his first wife, renders no services to the father of the second wife,

¹ Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 253 (Thonga). Stigand, 'Notes on the Natives of Nyassaland, &c.,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 122. Miss Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 131. Kovalewsky, *op. cit.* p. 163 sq. (Ossetes). Ranga Rao, 'Yánádis of the Nellore District,' in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 98. Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 150 (Savaras). Shakespear, *op. cit.* p. 155 (Old Kuki clans).

² Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i. 270 (Tarahumare). Shakespear, *op. cit.* p. 154 sq. (Old Kuki clans).

³ Prichard, *op. cit.* p. 93.

⁴ Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills*, i. 190. ⁵ Vetter, *loc. cit.* p. 90.

⁶ Fromm, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 97.

⁷ Majerus, in *Anthropos*, vi. 895.

⁸ Hagen, *op. cit.* p. 224.

⁹ Seligman, *op. cit.* p. 268.

¹⁰ Torday, *Camp and Tramp in African Wilds*, p. 134.

¹¹ Dundas, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 68.

but instead of this pays a double price for her; "for he not only pays her parents, but is forced also to give a like sum to his first wife, who, in turn, presents it to her father." And should a third wife be added to the family, a sum equal to her cost is divided among the earlier wives.¹ Among some of the Indians of British Columbia the marriage presents, although nominally given to the parents of the girl, were never retained or used by them, but were divided among the girl's relatives;² whilst among the Tlingit the girl's father distributed among her mother and relatives everything received for her except a small amount reserved for himself.³

On the other hand, the paying of the bride price may, to some extent at least, devolve on other persons than the bridegroom or his father.⁴ Among the coast people of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain, if the young man cannot pay it himself, he asks his maternal uncle to help him.⁵ Among the Central African Madis the young man "collects together the cattle to be given for the bride. His friends all make him presents, the most substantial help coming from his father, mother, and father's brothers."⁶ Among the Toradjas of Central Celebes⁷ and in Ceram⁸ and Buru⁹ a man's wife is purchased for him by, or with the assistance

¹ Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 103.

² Teit, 'Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i. 322. *Idem*, 'Lillooet Indians,' *ibid.* ii. 207 sq.

³ Swanton, 'Social Condition, Beliefs, and Linguistic Relationship of the Tlingit Indians,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xxvi. 428

⁴ Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 34 (Banaka and Bapuku of the Cameroons). Kraft, *ibid.* p. 286 (Wapokomo). Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 263 (Thonga). Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 28. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln*, iii. 12, 18 (natives of Buin).

⁵ Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 23.

⁶ Felkin, in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xii. 320.

⁷ Adriani and Kruijt, *op. cit.* ii. 25.

⁸ Tauern, 'Ceram,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xlv. 172.

⁹ Wilken, *Bijdrage tot de kennis der Alfoeren van het eiland Boeroe*, p. 17 (in *Verhandelungen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van kunsten en wetenschappen*, xxxviii.). Martin, *Reisen in den Molukken*, p. 289.

of, his whole clan. Among the Mekeo tribes of British New Guinea the bride price is provided by contributions from both the paternal and maternal relatives of the bridegroom.¹ Among the Roro-speaking tribes of the same colony, when a youth is of an age to be married, his father asks the members of his local group to help him to collect the bride price for his son.² Among the Altaians, "to enable the bridegroom to pay the *kalym*, his bachelor friends help him by making each a small offering from his store."³

The consideration for a wife may be offered by instalments.⁴ Among some Siberian peoples the man is allowed to have sexual intercourse with his future wife as soon as he has paid a certain portion of the *kalym*.⁵ In other cases the marriage may take place before the bride price has been paid in full.⁶ Among some West Africans the price is supposed to be completed in one or two years after the marriage,⁷ whereas among certain other tribes the payment

¹ Seligman, *op. cit.* p. 363 n. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 267. Cf. *ibid.* p. 77 (Koita).

³ Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 117.

⁴ Decle, *op. cit.* p. 78 (Barotse). Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 346 (Konde people). Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 17 (Bantu Kavirondo). Gregory, *Great Rift Valley*, p. 343 (Wapokomo). Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, p. 254. Rossillon, 'Mœurs et Coutumes du peuple Kui, Indes Anglaises,' in *Anthropos*, vii. 100 sq (Kandhs). Hagen, *op. cit.* p. 242 (people of Bogadjim in New Guinea). Speiser, *Two Years with the Natives in the Western Pacific*, p. 234 (natives of Pentecost of the New Hebrides).

⁵ Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* pp. 105, 107, 108, 126 sq. (Tungus, Yakut, Ostyak). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 187, 194 (Ostyak, Vogul, Kazak-Kirghiz).

⁶ Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 145; Kidd, *op. cit.* p. 215 (Kafirs). Avon, 'Vie sociale des Wabende au Tanganika,' in *Anthropos*, x.-xi. 100. Hurel, *ibid.* vi. 288 (natives of Ukarewø, an island in the Victoria Nyanza). Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 28 (Nilotic Kavirondo). *Idem*, *Ethnology of A-Kamba*, p. 62; Lindblom, *op. cit.* p. 71 (Akamba). Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 34 (Bafaka and Bapuku of the Cameroons). Shortt, *op. cit.* ii. 39 sq. (Malliallies of the Shevaroyes). Rowney, *Wild Tribes of India*, p. 139 (Lepchas). Shakespear, *op. cit.* p. 52 (Lushais). v. Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kannibalen Sumatras*, p. 248 (Battas of Sumatra).

⁷ Nassau, *op. cit.* p. 7

of it may extend over many years. Among the Akikúyu the marriage will probably take place after twenty goats have been received, but the remainder is sometimes not paid over till the eldest child is eight or ten years of age.¹ In the southern Chin Hills the debt usually hangs over the husband for the rest of his life, and "it is by no means rare to find men quarrelling over the still unpaid portion of the marriage price of their grandmothers and other female ancestors."² But it may be that until the bride price is fully paid the husband is little else than a drudge to his wife's male relatives;³ or the parents may have a right to take back their daughter and consequently prefer that a portion of the price remains unpaid.⁴ In Timorlaut, again, so long as the bridal price is not paid in full, the wife is entitled to stay with her parents and is not completely subject to her husband, nor does the latter possess a right to the children.⁵ In Tenimber "the father of the girl has often to wait a long time for the ivory portion of her price; but he hands her over, on the payment of the other items of the bargain, to her purchaser, who takes up his abode in her house, where she and her children remain as hostages till the full price is paid."⁶ Among various other peoples neither the wife nor her children would be allowed to leave her father's house until the bride price has been paid in full.⁷ Among the Central African Banyoro, according to Emin Pasha, when a poor man is unable to procure the cattle required for his marriage at once, he may, by agreement with the bride's father, pay them by instalments; but the children born in the meantime belong to the wife's father, and each of them must be redeemed with a cow.⁸

¹ Routledge, *op. cit.* p. 125. ² Carey and Tuck, *op. cit.* i. 190 sq.

³ Robertson, *Erromanga*, p. 396.

⁴ Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 145; Kidd, *op. cit.* p. 215 (Kafirs). Marx, in Steinmetz, *op. cit.* p. 351 (Amahlubi). Hurel, in *Anthropos*, vi. 288 (Bakerewe).

⁵ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 301. ⁶ Anna Forbes, *op. cit.* p. 170 sq.

⁷ Theal, *op. cit.* p. 220 n. * (Makaranga). Hildebrandt 'Ethnographische Notizen über Wakámba,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* vii. 401. Scott Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 535 (Káfirs of the Hindu-Kush). Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 236 sq. (Mishmis). Vetter, *loc. cit.* p. 90 (Jabim of New Guinea).

⁸ Emin Pasha in *Central Africa*, p. 86.

Among the Zulus¹ and the Bakundu of the Cameroons² the issue of the marriage can be taken as mortgage until the payment agreed upon has been made.

Among some tribes the bride price, like the service for a wife, gives the husband no claim over the offspring, for which a special payment has to be made; or he may have to pay for his children although he paid no price for his wife. Thus among the Takelma Indians of South-Western Oregon "after the birth of the first baby an additional price was paid to the girl's father in the shape of a deerskin sack filled with Indian money. This payment was considered as equivalent to the buying of the child and was metaphorically referred to as 'making its pillow.'"³ Among the Sakalava of Madagascar, the marriage feast being over, the young husband makes a present of an ox to his wife's parents and a further payment of four yards of cloth or a large bag of rice to each of her nearest relatives. "These must be presented before his wife gives birth to her first child, as they are regarded as the payment necessary to secure the child for himself, and, if not made in proper time, he loses his right to be considered the father of the child, which then belongs to his father-in-law and mother-in-law."⁴ Among the Shambaa in Usambara, when the wife becomes with child for the first time, the husband must give to his mother-in-law a goat, and, when the child is born, either a cow or five goats; and should he fail to do so, the wife is taken back by her father.⁵ The Matabele, according to Mr. Decle, "do not buy the wife from her father,"⁶ but

¹ Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus*, p. 119. Grant, 'Magato and his Tribe,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 270.

² Bufe, 'Die Bakundu,' in *Archiv f. Anthrop.* N.S. xii. 236.

³ Sapir, 'Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ix. 275.

⁴ Walen, 'Sakalava,' in *Antananarivo Annual*, 1884, p. 53 sq.

⁵ Storch, 'Gebräuche und Rechtspflege bei den Bewohnern Usambaras und Pares,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* viii. 312. Dahlgrün, *ibid.* xvi. 224 sq.

⁶ When the girl's father has given permission for the marriage to take place, however, the bridegroom kills an ox or a sheep, takes part of it to the town of the intended father-in-law, stops outside, and shouts, "Here is meat for your child."

after the first child is born the husband has to pay its value, or else the wife's father has the right to take the child away."¹

Among various other African peoples, again, the paying of the bride price not only gives the husband a right to his children as well as to his wife, but, in case she dies before bearing a child, entitles him to reclaim the bride price² or to demand another woman, generally her sister, as a substitute.³ These two methods of compensation are sometimes represented as alternatives.⁴ In other cases it is said that if the wife dies soon after her marriage, her sister will take her place⁵ or the bride price or part of it is to be restored.⁶ And the same may be the case if the wife proves barren;⁷ or the husband may stop his payments if his wife does not bear a child quickly.⁸

Where the paying of a bride price is a regular custom it would be considered highly disgraceful to a girl and her family if she were given in marriage for nothing.⁹ According to Yakut ideas, "it would mean that she was not worth any price, was friendless, or an outcast. It can be understood, therefore, that the Yakut women look down

¹ Decle, *op. cit.* p. 158.

² Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 135 (Xosa Kafirs). Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 68. Ward, *Voice from the Congo*, p. 251. Torday, *op. cit.* p. 134 sq. (if the wife dies before giving birth to a girl).

³ Arbousset and Daumas, *Narrative of an Exploratory Tour to the North-East of the Colony of Good Hope*, p. 68 (Manteti).

⁴ Fülleborn, *op. cit.* p. 348 (Konde people). Weeks, 'Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People,' in *Folk-Lore*, xix. 413. Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 18, 29 (Bantu and Nilotic Kavirondo; among the latter, however, the man has to pay a reduced bride price for the sister of his deceased wife).

⁵ Northcote, 'Nilotic Kavirondo,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 62. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, ii. 263. Dixon, *Chimariho Indians and Language*, p. 301.

⁶ Northcote, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 62 (Nilotic Kavirondo). Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, p. 116.

⁷ Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 81 (Wanyamwezi). Northcote, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 62 (Nilotic Kavirondo).

⁸ Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 29.

⁹ Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 277 (Indians of Columbia). Williamson, 'Some unrecorded Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 275. Vetter, *loc. cit.* p. 90 (Jabim).

upon the Russian women, who, as they say, pay somebody to take them."¹ The Kafir women pour scorn and contempt on one who has not been duly bought by cattle; they call such a woman an old cat, because the cat is the only animal that the natives consider unworthy of being sold.² A woman for which no price has been paid, although she lives with a man, is regarded as a harlot,³ and her children are accounted no better than bastards, as children without a father.⁴ But she is a proud woman for whom a larger sum than usual is paid.⁵

Like other forms of marriage by consideration, the giving of material objects for a bride is in the first place due to the unwillingness of the person or persons who have a right to dispose of a girl's hand to part with her for nothing, and to the readiness of a man to give something in order to obtain a wife. This form of marriage has generally been called "marriage by purchase"; but in many cases there is no justification at all for such a term, and in others it may be used only if it is understood that girls are not sold by their relatives like chattels. The gift may be an expression of good-will or respect on the part of the bridegroom.⁶ It may be a proof of his ability to keep a wife.⁷ It may serve as a protection to the wife against ill usage and to the husband against misbehaviour on the side of the wife. Among the Hidatsa Indians, according to Mr.

¹ Sumner, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxi. 85 (Yakut).

² Kidd, *op. cit.* p. 224. Cf. v. Weber, *op. cit.* ii. 215 sq.

³ Nassau, *op. cit.* p. 6 (West Africans).

⁴ Powers, *op. cit.* pp. 22, 56; Goddard, *op. cit.* p. 56 (Californian tribes). Adriani and Kruijt, *op. cit.* ii. 25 (Toradjas of Central Celebes).

⁵ Weeks, *Among the Primitive Bakongo*, p. 142. Kidd, *op. cit.* p. 220 sq. (Kafirs). Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, pp. 39, 209 (Banyoro, Busoga). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 101 (Gilyak).

⁶ Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 41 sq. (Pawnee). Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 140 (Xosa Kafirs). Fromm, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 97 (Wafipa). Paulitschke, *op. cit.* ii. 142 (Somal and Danakil). Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 28 (Padams).

⁷ v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 109 sq. (various Brazilian tribes). Heese, 'Sitte und Brauch der Sango,' in *Archiv f. Anthropol.* N.S. xii. 137. Miss Werner, *op. cit.* p. 129 (Zulus).

Matthews, the gift "is a pledge to the parents for the proper treatment of their daughter, as well as an evidence of the wealth of the suitor and his relations."¹ Among the Xosa Kafirs the bride price makes the father take an interest in the behaviour of his daughter because, if she is divorced by her husband for a good reason, the bride price has to be returned; whereas if the marriage is dissolved owing to ill treatment of the wife, the husband may lose what he paid for her.² Among the Warega of the Belgian Congo "le mariage n'est pas un achat; les biens que le fiancé donne aux parents de la fiancée ne constituent qu'une caution que les beaux-parents doivent toujours être en état de restituer en cas de divorce."³ In many cases the price is said to be a compensation for the loss sustained in the giving up of the girl or a remuneration for the expenses incurred in her maintenance till the time of her marriage;⁴ and the gift to her mother is regarded as a reward for nursing her, as a "price of the mother's milk,"⁵ or sometimes,

¹ Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 52.

² Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 140.

³ Delhaise, *Les Warega*, p. 173.

⁴ Paulitschke, *op. cit.* ii. 142 (Galla). Park, *Travels in the Interior of Africa*, p. 220 (Mandingo). Connolly, 'Social Life in Fanti-Land,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxvi. 144. Ellis, *Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 182. Merolla da Sorrento, 'Voyage to Congo,' in Pinkerton, *Collection of Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 235 (Negroes of Sogno). Shooter, *Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 49. Junod, *op. cit.* i. 262 (Thonga). Zache, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxi. 78. Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 190 (Mordvin, Baltic Finns). Castrén, *Nordiska resor och forskningar*, iv. 126 (Ostyak). Ahlqvist, *Die Kulturwörter der westfinnischen Sprachen*, p. 203 (Turkish and Finnish peoples). Vámbéry, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 230 (Central Asiatic Turks). Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, p. 148 (Gonds). McNair, *Perak and the Malays*, p. 232. Carey and Tuck, *Chin Hills*, i. 189. Jagor, *op. cit.* p. 235 (Bisayans). d'Albertis, *New Guinea*, i. 395, 396, 414 (natives of Naiabui and Yule Island).

⁵ François, *op. cit.* p. 214 (Hottentots). v. Eberstein, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* ix. 181 (natives of Kilwa in the former German East Africa). Grandidier, *op. cit.* ii. 185 (Betsimisaraka of Madagascar). Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxii. pt. iii. 17, 21. Young, *Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 94 (Siamese). Pardo de Tavera, in *Revista contemporánea*, lxxxvi. 466 sq. n. 1 (Tagals of the Philippines in former times).

it seems, as a reward for guarding her virginity, as "the price of the virgin."¹ Mercenary motives may be prominent: daughters may be bartered away to the highest bidders and be trained for the purpose of fetching a high price. But whatever be the reason for claiming a consideration for a bride and whether the consideration be large or small, it does not confer on the husband the right to do with the wife whatever he may please. He can only "buy" the rights which custom grants to a husband; and however great these rights may be, I think we may safely say that they never are quite absolute, and that among no people a married woman is completely at the mercy of her husband.² Among many African peoples the parents may in certain circumstances take back their daughter on restoration of the bride price.³

It has been suggested that marriage by purchase arose out of marriage by capture. We are told that abduction in spite of parents was the primary form; then there came the offering of compensation to escape vengeance; and this grew eventually into the making of presents beforehand.⁴ In support of this view instances have been quoted of peoples among whom a man who carries off or elopes with a woman afterwards has to pay compensation if she is to become his wife. But these cases merely show that marriage by consideration is the recognised form of marriage, although forcible abduction or elopement may be a preliminary

¹ Declé, *op. cit.* 233 (natives of the Portuguese Zambesi). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 124 (Samoyed).

² See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. ch. 27, 'The Subjection of Wives,' p. 629 sqq.

³ Gouldsbury and Sheane, *Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 166 (Awemba). Fromm, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 97 (Wafipa). Beltrame, *Il Fiume Bianco*, p. 88 sq. (Shilluk). Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 47. Nassau, *op. cit.* p. 7 (West Africans). Dennett, *At the Back of the Black Man's Mind*, pp. 38, 40 (Bavili).

⁴ Koenigswarter, *Études historiques sur le développement de la société humaine*, p. 53. Spencer, *Principles of Sociology*, i. 625. In the earlier editions of the present work (p. 401) I expressed myself the opinion that "the transition from marriage by capture to marriage by purchase" was probably brought about in this way.

measure leading up to it. They by no means imply that the bride price was originally a ransom. Marriage by consideration prevails among a large number of peoples who have never been known to be in the habit of capturing women for wives; and, as I said in the preceding chapter, marriage by capture cannot be proved to have been the usual form of marriage among any people.

Whilst the rendering of some consideration for the bride undoubtedly is the normal mode of securing marriage at all grades in the uncivilised world,¹ it has, generally speaking, assumed increasing importance with the advance of economic culture. Messrs. Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg observe that the increase is sharper in the pastoral as compared with the agricultural stages, and that "the same relations are even more strongly marked when we distinguish purchase proper from other forms of consideration."² Among pastoral peoples marriage by consideration seems to be very nearly universal.³ Of some uncivilised peoples we are told that the commercial view of marriage is one of comparatively modern growth.⁴

That the giving of a consideration for a bride is not an act of ordinary purchase is also obvious in cases where the bride's people have to present the bridegroom or his people with a return gift. The exchange of presents at a marriage is in fact a very widespread practice,⁵ and fre-

¹ Cf. Hobhouse, Wheeler, and Ginsberg, *Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples*, p. 145.

² *Ibid.* p. 155. See *supra*, ii. 314.

³ Cf. Grosse, *Die Formen der Familie und die Formen der Wirtschaft*, p. 104.

⁴ Grinnell, *op. cit.* p. 41 sq. (Pawnee). Tyler, *op. cit.* p. 118; Shooter, *op. cit.* p. 49 (Zulus).

⁵ Holmberg, 'Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika,' in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. 315; Swanton, in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xxvi. 428 (Tlingit). *Idem*, *Haida*, p. 51 sq. Hodge, *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, p. 275 sq. (Tsimshian, Coast Salish, Bellacoola, Delaware). Loskiel, *op. cit.* i. 57 (Delaware). Long, *Voyages and Travels*, p. 174; Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, ii. 15 (Ojibway). Lewis and Clarke, *Travels to the Source of the Missouri*

quently the amount of the return gift is fixed by custom. Among the Central African Bahima, when the bridegroom has built a house for himself and his wife, the latter is taken there by her father, who at the same time brings back three out of the ten head of cattle which were paid for her.¹ Among the Bila-an of Mindanao, whatever the gift may

River, p. 307 (Shoshoni). Fañrand, 'Notes on the Alsea Indians of Oregon,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. iii. 243. Sapir, 'Notes on the Takelma Indians of Southwestern Oregon,' *ibid.* N.S. ix. 274. Stephen, 'Navajo,' *ibid.* vi. 356. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 354 (Miwok of California). Morelet, *Reisen in Central-Amerika*, p. 257 (Quiché). Nicholas, in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. iii. 647 (Goajiros). Nachtigal, *op. cit.* ii. 370, 448 (Budduma, Tedá). Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 30, 104 (Mordvin, Cheremiss). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* pp. 103, 118, 124 (Ainu, Buryat, Samoyed). Vámbéry, *Das Türken-volk*, p. 233 sq. (Central Asiatic Turks). Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 743 sq. Müller, 'Über die Wildenstämme der Insel Formosa,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xlii. 230. Strzoda, 'Die Li auf Hainan,' *ibid.* xliii. 203. Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 68 (natives of Amboyna). Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 102 (Papuan of Dorey). Seligman, *op. cit.* pp. 79, 504, 506, 510, 710 sq. (Koita, South Massim of British New Guinea). Williamson, 'Customs of the Mekeo People of British New Guinea,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 277. Haddon, in *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 231 (Western Islanders of Torres Straits). Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, pp. 267, 394 (natives of New Hanover and Northern New Ireland, Admiralty Islanders). Pfeil, *op. cit.* p. 29 (natives of the Bismarck Archipelago). Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 27 (coast people). Hahl, 'Ueber die Rechtsanschauungen der Eingeborenen eines Theiles der Blanchebucht und des Innern der Gazelle Halbinsel,' in *Nachrichten über Kaiser Wilhelms-Land und den Bismarck-Archipel*, 1897, p. 78. Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln und dem Bismarck-Archipel*, iii. 13 sq. (natives of Buin in Bougainville belonging to the Solomon Islands). Paton, quoted by Serbelov, 'Social Position of Men and Women among the Natives of East Malekula, New Hebrides,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xv. 278. Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, ii. 105, 107. Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 93, 96; Schultz, 'The most important Principles of Samoan Family Law,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* xx. 49; Stair, *op. cit.* p. 172 sq.; Pritchard, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, p. 139 sq. (Samoans). v. Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels in various Parts of the World*, i. 153 (Nukahivans). Marcuse, *Die Hawaiischen Inseln*, p. 108. Strehlow, *op. cit.* vol. iv. pt. i. 99 (Western Loritja in Central Australia).

¹ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 632.

be, a return present equal to half its value must be made.¹ Among many tribes it is the custom that the consideration given for a wife shall be returned in a present of equal value.²

Among the Pawnee Indians in Nebraska the girl's relatives would give the young man a horse or two, and it was the custom that those who had received horses from the relatives of the man should also return horses to him; but it must be some time after the marriage, and the horses returned must not be the same as had been given by the boy's relations. Our informant, Mr. Grinnell, adds that, so far as he can discover, these presents did not in earlier times in any sense constitute a price paid for the girl, but were really wedding gifts, most of which ultimately came back to the young man.³ Among the Stlatlunh of British Columbia custom demands that the presents given by the parents and kinsfolk of the bride shall not be less in value than those made to themselves by the bridegroom and his party.⁴ We are told that "bartering women for cattle, as now practised in Natal and other parts of South Africa, is not an ancestral custom of the Zulus. Fifty years ago the bridegroom presented the bride's father with three or four cows to ratify the marriage contract, and he received from the bride's relatives an equivalent in cattle or something else."⁵ Among the Siberian Yukaghir of the *tundra*, when the newly-married couple visit the bride's people, those of them who have received one reindeer each of the bride price present the couple, each in his turn, with one reindeer; this is called "taking back."⁶ Among some of the Southern Massim of British New Guinea, when the bride-

¹ Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 144.

² Teit, 'Indian Tribes of the Interior,' in *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. XXI. *The Pacific Province*, i. 309 (Salish). Sproat, *op. cit.* p. 98 (Nootka). Solberg, 'Gebräuche der Mittelmesa-Hopi (Moqui) bei Namengebung, Heirat und Tod,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxvii. 629, 630, 632. Musters, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* i. 201 (Tehuelches). Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 236 (Mishmis).

³ Grinnell, 'Marriage among the Pawnees,' in *American Anthropologist*, iv. 279.

⁴ Tout, 'Report on the Ethnology of the Stlatlunh of British Columbia,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 132.

⁵ Tyler, *op. cit.* p. 118.

⁶ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 95 sq.

groom announces his approaching marriage to his father, the latter takes one or more pearl shells or other valuables to the bride's folk, and later he takes them a present of food ; but "after this the bride's father gives a return present, probably of the same kind and value, and also an equivalent amount of food."¹ In his recent essay on the natives of Mailu, Dr. Malinowski observes that the regular exchange of gifts is one of the main features of the Papuo-Melanesian and Massim cultures, as has been fully recognised by Professor Seligman. He thinks "it is beyond doubt that this exchange is in nine cases out of ten initiated as the original price of the bride paid by the bridegroom at marriage, and subsequently returned to him. Then, in turn, he has to give a pig when the next opportunity offers, and so on. Although the balance seems to be always in favour of the girl's family—in the sense that they get more—there is no doubt that this system differs strongly from marriage by purchase pure and simple, and that one should speak of bride-price, etc., only in a qualified sense."² Sometimes the return gifts even exceed the original gifts in value. This is the case among some Indians of Canada,³ the Badagas of the Nilgiris in South India,⁴ and the Bogos inhabiting the outlying spurs of the Abyssinian mountains towards the north.⁵ In Saraë the girl's father, at the wedding, has to return five times the price which he received from the bridegroom's father at the espousals, the return gift, however, becoming the common property of the married couple.⁶ Bensen observes that among the Herero the consideration received by the bride's father can hardly be called a bride price, as he has to spend a much larger amount on the wedding feast.⁷

¹ Seligman, *op. cit.* p. 506. See also *ibid.* p. 510.

² Malinowski, 'Natives of Mailu,' in *Trans. Roy. Soc. South Australia*, xxxix. 564 sq.

³ Hodge, *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, p. 275.

⁴ Harkness, *Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 116 sq.

⁵ Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 57 sq.

⁶ *Idem*, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 387.

⁷ Bensen, quoted by Kohler, 'Das Recht der Herero,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xiv. 302.

Speaking of the marriage customs of the Yukaghir of the *tundra*, Dr. Jochelson remarks that the exchange of gifts "is designed to bring the members of both families into close contact";¹ and Professor Hobhouse rightly suggests that this practice may, generally, be "a method of cementing the union of the two families."² Mr. Crawley connects it with savage ideas of gifts: "a gift," he says, "means far more to primitive man than it does to us; it is part of himself." And he even maintains that marriage by purchase is a development from a previous custom of exchanging gifts, the so-called bride price being originally "a pledge, a part of one's self, given to another and received from him."³ No doubt, superstitious ideas are often connected with the transference of gifts;⁴ and it may very well be that there are such ideas also in connection with the exchange of gifts at a marriage, even apart from those which are exchanged between bride and bridegroom. Yet Mr. Crawley has given no direct evidence in support of his theory, and in no case can it be accepted as a general explanation of the practice we are now discussing. Nor do I find any reason whatever to suppose that marriage by purchase has developed out of an earlier exchange of gifts.

In some cases the exchange is obviously connected with a feeling of shame at the idea of making a daughter an article of traffic. Among the Bagobo of Mindanao, according to Mr. Cole, the price for a bride varies according to the wealth of the interested parties and the accomplishments of the bride, but whatever the sum paid, the father of the girl must make a return present equal to one-half the value of the marriage gift "so that he does not sell his daughter like a slave."⁵ In Florida, of the Solomon Group, when fifty *rongo*, or coils of native money, are offered by the bridegroom's party, the bride's party give in return five pigs, and when a hundred coils are offered they give ten

¹ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 95.

² Hobhouse, *Morals in Evolution*, p. 154.

³ Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 386 *sqq.*

⁴ See Westermarck, *Origin and Development of the Moral Ideas*, i. 593 *sq.*

⁵ Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 101.

pigs; "and they say that the money buys the pigs and not the damsel."¹ Again, among the Western Islanders of Torres Straits, according to Dr. Haddon, "the return of presents on the father-in-law's part appears to be the result of a feeling that a wife costs too much, and that the husband should not be impoverished."² But sometimes the return gift depends on the behaviour of the husband, and thus serves as a protection for the wife. Among the Hidatsa, whilst marriage is usually made formal by the distribution of gifts on the part of the man to the woman's relatives, presents of equal value are afterwards commonly returned by the latter, "if they have the means of returning them and are satisfied with the conduct of the husband."³ Among the Lower Thompson Indians "wealthy people, if pleased with the new son-in-law, returned the marriage presents to him."⁴ Schadenberg states that among the Bagobos of Southern Mindanao, when six months have elapsed, the father of the wife gives one-half of the bride price back to the husband, if the newly married couple are satisfied with each other.⁵ Of the Chukchee we are told that when the son-in-law takes his wife home without quarrelling with her father, he is usually given some reindeer, the number of which depends partly upon the quality of work the young man has done while serving for his bride.⁶

The return gift may take the shape of a dowry given to the bride by her father or parents or other relatives but also directly or indirectly benefiting her husband. The practice of giving a dowry to a daughter prevails among many uncivilised peoples, although among others nothing of the kind is said to be found. The dowry often consists of some food, clothes, ornaments, household goods, or

¹ Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 238.

² Haddon, in *Results of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 231.

³ Matthews, *op. cit.* p. 52.

⁴ Teit, in *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i. 322.

⁵ Schadenberg, 'Die Bewohner von Süd-Mindanao und der Insel Samal,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xvii. 12.

⁶ Bogoras, *op. cit.* p. 586.

other objects,¹ but among many peoples it includes or consists of a certain number of domestic animals.² Among the Nilotic tribes of the Kavirondo the father of the bride presents his daughter with a goat.³ Among the Bahima he gives her a present of a number of cows, "never less than six, to ensure her having food."⁴ Among the Zulus he gives her a blanket and cattle according to his rank; "but no girl ever goes to her husband without an ox, which is ever looked upon afterwards as the ox of the *amahlozi* (ancestral spirits), the loss of which by death would be considered a token of desertion by the protecting spirits of her father's house, and the slaughter of which, in the event of any calamity (such as disease or barrenness), is an acceptable sacrifice."⁵ Among the Todas the bride may receive from her father a dowry of several buffaloes, together with neck-

¹ Nordenskiöld, *Den andra Dicksonska expeditionen till Grönland*, p. 508 (Greenlanders). v. Martius, *op. cit.* i. 115 (Brazilian aborigines). Bove, *op. cit.* p. 132 (Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego). Thomas, *Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 66. Bargy, 'Notes ethnographiques sur les Birifons,' in *L'Anthropologie*, xx. 172. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, ii. 522 (Somal). Marshall, *A Phrenologist amongst the Todas*, p. 212; Rivers, *Todas*, p. 504. Prejevalsky, *Mongolia*, i. 70 (Mongols). Pallas, *Merkwürdigkeiten der Morduanen, Kasaken, Kalmücken, &c.*, p. 262 (Kalmucks). Pfeil, *op. cit.* p. 29 (natives of the Bismarck Archipelago). Thurnwald, in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xxiii. 337 (natives of Buin in Bougainville). Post, *Die Anfänge des Staats- und Rechtslebens*, p. 54 sq. *Idem*, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 304.

² François, *op. cit.* p. 214 (Hottentots). Kropf, *op. cit.* p. 142 (Xosa Kafirs). Schinz, *Deutsch-Süd-West-Afrika*, p. 311 (Ovambo). Decle, *op. cit.* p. 158 (Matabele). Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 39 sq. (Banyoro). Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 187 (Wambugwe). Last, 'Visit to the Masai People living beyond the Borders of the Nguru Country,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc.* N.S. v. 532. Metz, *Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 87; Ward, in Grigg, *Manual of the Nilagiri District in the Madras Presidency*, Appendix, p. lxxi. (Badagas). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 118 (Buryat). Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 93 (Yukaghir of the tundra). Dittmar, *loc. cit.* p. 25 (Koryak). Vetter, *loc. cit.* p. 90 (Jabim of the former German New Guinea).

³ Hobley, *Eastern Uganda*, p. 29.

⁴ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 120.

⁵ Tyler, *op. cit.* p. 202 sq. See also Kidd, *The Essential Kafir*, p. 216.

laces, armlets, and ear-rings.¹ The dowry of a Samoyed bride consists of a tent, some reindeer, sledges, harness, clothes, and meat.² Among the Maori of New Zealand some of the wives of men belonging to distinguished and rich families brought good dowers with them in the shape of lands and slaves.³

Sometimes the dowry given to the bride by her father is represented as a return gift to her husband ;⁴ and where, as among the Marea of North-Eastern Africa, it becomes the exclusive property of the husband,⁵ it is really nothing else. In other instances the wife gets back her dowry in case of separation or divorce, though the husband may have the usufruct of it so long as the marriage lasts.⁶ Among various peoples there is an interesting connection between the bride price and the dowry in so far that the bride price, or a part of it, is given to the bride by her father as a dowry, or is looked upon as a settlement or provision for the wife.⁷

¹ King, *Aboriginal Tribes of the Nilgiri Hills*, p. 24.

² Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 124.

³ Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 118.

⁴ Sapir, 'Indian Tribes of the Coast,' in *Canada and its Provinces*, vol. XXI. *The Pacific Province*, i. 341 (coast tribes of British Columbia). Prichard, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Tehuelches of Patagonia). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* p. 108 sq. (Yakut).

⁵ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 240.

⁶ Richardson, *op. cit.* i. 407 (Kenai). Holmberg, in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. 315 (Tlingit). Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 197 (Nootka). Hawkins, 'Notes on the Creek System of Government,' in *Trans. American Ethn. Soc.* vol. iii. pt. i. 66. Prichard, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Tehuelches). Baumann, *op. cit.* p. 187 (Wambugwe). Rochon, 'Voyage to Madagascar and the East Indies,' in Pinkerton, *op. cit.* xvi. 747 (Malagasy). Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 254 (Kukis).

⁷ Prichard, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Tehuelches). Elmslie, *Among the Wild Ngoni*, p. 58. Monrad, *Bidrag til en Skildring af Guinea-Kysten og dens Indbyggere*, p. 47 (Negroes of Accra). Henry, *Les Bambara*, p. 203. Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 104 (Cheremiss). Miss Czaplicka, *op. cit.* pp. 117, 121 (Altaians, Kalmucks). Patkanov, *Die Irtysch-Ostjaken und ihre Volkspoesie*, i. 139. Georgi, *op. cit.* pp. 55, 103, 182, 324 (Votyak, Tartars of Orenburg, Bashkir, Tungus). Vámbéry, *op. cit.* p. 433 (Tartars of Kazan). Cooper, *op. cit.* p. 236 (Mishmis). Crawford, *History of the Indian Archipelago*, i. 90 (Javanese). Pardo de Tavera, in *Revista contemporánea*, lxxxvi.

Among many tribes the suitor gives a present to his prospective wife, or a bridegroom to his bride either before or immediately after the marriage.¹ Among some of the Eskimo the lover presents clothes to the lady, who puts them on, and is thenceforth his wife.² Among the Dakota of the Upper Mississippi, according to Prescott, men ask for consent to marriage by sending the price of the girl, and in addition they may give small presents to the object of their esteem.³ Among the Pima Indians of Arizona "the groom presented the bride with a new blanket and his parents gave her presents, but there was no idea of purchase and no gifts were made to the bride's parents."⁴ Speaking of the Guanas of Paraguay, Azara says, "Toutes les cérémonies du mariage se réduisent à un petit présent que le mari fait à sa prétendue."⁵ Among the West African Fanti the bridegroom is obliged to make presents of cloths, Manchester stuffs, and silks to the bride, after which nothing more is to be expected of him.⁶ In Benin "the bridegroom

466 (Tagals of the Philippines in former times). Dahlgren, 'Om Palau-ðarna,' in *Ymer*, iv. 333 (Pelew Islanders). Post, *Grundriss der ethnologischen Jurisprudenz*, i. 305.

¹ Voth, 'Oraibi Marriage Customs,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ii. 238 (Hopi Indians of Arizona). Trenk, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxiii. 168 (Namib Bushmen). Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, p. 192 (Bechuanas). Dundas, 'Wawanga and other Tribes of the Elgon District, British East Africa,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 40. Caillié, *op. cit.* i. 349 (Mandingo). Partridge, *Cross River Natives*, p. 254. Tessmann, *op. cit.* ii. 255 (Pangwe). Ellis, *Ebe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 157; Klose, *Togo unter deutscher Flagge*, p. 252; Spieth, *op. cit.* p. 62 * (Ewhe). Proyard, 'History of Loango,' in Pinkerton, *op. cit.* xvi. 569. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, ii. 679 (Bakongo). Waitz, *op. cit.* ii. 522 (Somal). Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 324 (Beni-Amer). Bainbridge, 'Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, ii. 58. Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i. 325. Seligman, *op. cit.* p. 76 (Koita of British New Guinea). Hahl, *loc. cit.* p. 80 (natives of the Gazelle Peninsula of New Britain).

² Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 66. Seemann, *Narrative of the Voyage of Herald*, ii. 66.

³ Prescott, in Schoolcraft, *op. cit.* iii. 238.

⁴ Russell, 'Pima Indians,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* xxvi. 184.

⁵ Azara, *Voyages dans l'Amérique méridionale*, ii. 92

⁶ Connolly, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxvi. 144

covers his future bride with a rich suit of clothes, necklaces and bracelets."¹ Among the Buduma of Lake Chad "the groom gives four cows to the father of his bride and five Maria Theresa thalers to her mother. The bride herself receives from him one cow, which must be in milk."² Among the Bhotias of the Darma pargana (Almora district), "the young man, either personally or through his friends, offers the girl a sum of money varying from five rupees to one hundred bound up in a piece of cloth. Generally the young lady is not directly approached, but the gift is handed over to her intimate associates . . . , and they promise to exercise their influence with her. Her answer is not obtained without a family consultation of her relations, and should the match appear a suitable one the gift is retained, otherwise it is returned."³ Among the Maori the expression *whakawhcrewhere* is applied to conciliation of a desired woman by means of gifts; a man will give or send to such a woman some present, which he hopes will cause her to like and desire him.⁴ In Lifu a present given to induce a woman to marry was called *june hmala*.⁵

Again, among the Bateso. when the bride first enters her new home, the husband presents her with a goat which she keeps alive for breeding.⁶ Among the Baganda, when the bride reached her husband's house, she refused to enter until he had given her a few cowry-shells, and when she had entered, she would not sit down until he had again given her a few shells. When the evening meal was dished up, she would not touch the food until her husband gave her a few more cowry-shells; and again, when it was bedtime, she would not move until a further sum had been given her. On the day after the consummation of the marriage the husband gave her a goat "as a token of his affection."⁷ Among the Shilluk, when the bride has

¹ Nyendaël, quoted by Ling Roth, *Great Benin*, p. 38.

² Talbot, in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xli. 247 sq.

³ Sherring, in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 106 sq.

⁴ Best, in *Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Inst.* xxxvi. 36.

⁵ Ray, 'People and Language of Lifu, Loyalty Islands,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xlvii. 286.

⁶ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 264. ⁷ *Idem*, *Baganda*, p. 90 sq.

entered the bridegroom's hut, she refuses to lie down. But metal ornaments are brought to cause her to lie down, and then she does so. The next morning a goat is brought and killed, but the bride refuses to eat; and metal ornaments are again brought, and then she eats.¹ Among the Mpfumo clan of the Thonga the first night when the bride sleeps in the hut with her husband she may refuse to allow him his conjugal rights. He then goes to his father and asks him what he ought to do under the circumstances. The father says, "Give her sixpence or one shilling"; and then she consents.²

Marriage by consideration is not only prevalent among most uncivilised races, but is also found among peoples who have reached a higher degree of culture. In China a present is given by the father of the suitor, the amount of which is not left to the good-will of the parties, as the term "present" would suggest, but is exactly stipulated for by the negotiators of the marriage. In ordinary circumstances it varies from twenty-five to forty dollars, increasing to a hundred and over according to the condition of the bridegroom; and until it is paid the marriage does not take place. And besides money, other presents, sometimes costly, consisting of silks and satins and rice and fruits or other articles, are sent to the parents or guardians of the bride.³ The people will not hear of the marriage presents being called a "price" for the girl; but Mr. Jamieson thinks that they are a survival from a time when the transaction was one of ordinary bargain.⁴ Among the poor it occurs that parents actually purchase a young girl and bring her up as a daughter until she is marriageable, thus securing her services in the household and reducing the expenses of a wedding.⁵ In Japan marriage by sale and marriage by capture are said to have been common in

¹ Westermann, *Shilluk People*, p. 110 sq. ² Junod, *op. cit.* i. 113.

³ Gray, *China*, i. 193. Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, i. 70 sqq.—Wells Williams, *The Middle Kingdom*, i. 785 sqq.

⁴ Jamieson, 'Translations from the General Code of Laws of the Chinese Empire; vii. —Marriage Laws,' in *China Review*, x. 78 n.

⁵ Wells Williams, *op. cit.* i. 789.

ancient days ; but from the time of the Taiho-ryo (701-1192) customs gradually became more refined.¹

Marriage by consideration has prevailed in all branches of the Semitic race. In Babylonia a suitor had to give to the father of his intended wife a bride price or present (*tirhâtum* or *terhatu*), the amount of which varied, according to the rank of the parties ; and if the young man did not himself possess the sum which was required, his parents were expected to provide him with it.² But from the Laws of Hammurabi we learn that although it was the general custom for a man to pay a bride price to his father-in-law, this payment was not universal,³ and also that the bride price reverted to the husband if the wife died without having granted him children.⁴ In Genesis we read that Jacob served Laban, his mother's brother, for seven years for each of his cousins Leah and Rachel ;⁵ but the usual method of obtaining a wife in ancient Israel was by paying a bride price, called *mohar* or *mahr*.⁶ According to Talmudic law the mutual consent of the parties to marry each other has to be legally manifested by a special formality, which gives validity to the marriage contract. The usual formality is that called *kaseph*, or "money." In the presence of two witnesses the man gave to his chosen bride a piece of money—even a *peruta*, the smallest copper coin used in

¹ Nakajima, 'Marriage (Japanese and Korean),' in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 460.

² Koschaker, *Rechtsvergleichende Studien zur Gesetzgebung Hammurapis*, p. 130 sqq. Meissner, *Beiträge zum altbabylonischen Privatrecht*, p. 13 sq.

³ *Laws of Hammurabi*, § 138 sq. (Johns' translation, p. 27 ; Winckler's translation, p. 41). Koschaker (*op. cit.* p. 153 sqq.) explains this by suggesting that marriage by purchase had ceased to exist according to Sumerian law, whereas it was retained in Babylonian law.

⁴ *Laws of Hammurabi*, § 163 sq. (Johns' translation, p. 32 sq. ; Winckler's translation, p. 47). ⁵ *Genesis*, xxix. 20 sqq.

⁶ Ewald, *Antiquities of Israel*, p. 200. Gans, *Das Erbrecht in weltgeschichtlicher Entwicklung*, i. 128. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 79. Wellhausen, 'Die Ehe bei den Arabern,' in *Nachrichten von der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1893, p. 433. Benzinger, *Hebräische Archäologie*, p. 106. Nowack, *Lehrbuch der hebräischen Archäologie*, i. 155.

Palestine, was sufficient for the purpose—or any object of equal value, with the words, “Be thou consecrated to me”; but during the Middle Ages it became customary for the act of betrothal by *kaseph* to be performed by means of a plain ring, instead of a piece of money, and this custom has ever since prevailed up to our time.¹ The betrothal by *kaseph* may be a survival of the old marriage by purchase, but it has also been supposed to be an imitation of the Roman *coëmtio*.²

Among the ancient Arabs a bride price, *mahr*, was given by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the bride; and this bride price has survived in Muhammadan law, where it has been confounded with the *ṣadāq*, which was a gift offered to the bride by the bridegroom.³ Although the Koranic law presumes that the *mahr*, or *ṣadāq*, shall be the property of the bride, this rule is not always followed in practice. In the rural districts of Palestine, for instance, the marriage contract is avowedly an act of purchase, most part—or at least one-half⁴—of the *ṣadāq* going to the girl's father;⁵ this makes the birth of a girl so much more welcome among the *fellaḥīn* than among the townspeople, who do not appropriate the payment given for their daughters.⁶ In Morocco the girl's father in some places spends the whole of the sum paid down on the *trousseau* of his daughter, whereas in other cases he so spends only a part of it, keeping the rest for himself;⁷ then the *ṣadāq* is hardly, as Sīdī Ḥalīl puts it,⁸ merely “similar” to a selling price. But even

¹ Mielziner, *Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce in Ancient and Modern Times*, p. 77 sqq. ² *Ibid.* p. 78 n. 2.

³ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 76–78, 91. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 433 sq.

⁴ v. Mülinen, ‘Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Karmels,’ in *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, xxx. 170.

⁵ Klein, ‘Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,’ *ibid.* vi. 90. Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 540. Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 109. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, p. 49.

⁶ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 109.

⁷ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 70 sqq.

⁸ Sīdī Ḥalīl, *Muḥtaṣar*, § 151 (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, ‘*A Manual of the Law of Marriage*’ from the *Muḥtaṣar* of Sīdī *Khalīl*, p. 54).

when the woman has the full benefit of the *ṣadāq*, the marriage may nevertheless be an act of purchase. Besides the *ṣadāq* another payment, often of a much higher amount, is in many tribes given to the girl's father to be retained by him; this custom is found particularly among Berber tribes or their Arabic-speaking neighbours, and is no doubt the old Berber marriage by purchase.¹ Moreover, in many tribes a payment is also made to other members of the girl's family than her father, particularly her eldest brother, who in case her father is dead is her recognised guardian. This payment is sometimes represented as a "bribe," the object of which is to induce the other relatives of the girl to try to influence the father.²

It has been supposed that wife purchase was the basis of Indo-European marriage before the separation of peoples took place.³ In Vedic times brides were won by rich presents to their fathers,⁴ though a certain discredit would seem to have attached to the sale of daughters.⁵ In the Mahabharata we are told that Pāṇdu paid the Madra king in gold, jewels, elephants, horses and cars, and various other articles for the hand of his sister,⁶ and that the purchase of women was the family practice of the king.⁷ Still more was the custom prevalent among the lower classes of Hindus. One of the eight forms of marriage mentioned by Manu—the *āsura* form—was marriage by purchase, and he admits that some allowed the two lower castes, the Vaiśyas and the Śūdras, to practise it. Manu himself, however, forbade it altogether.⁸ "No father who knows the law," he says, "must take even the smallest gratuity for his daughter; for a man who, through avarice, takes a gratuity, is a seller of his offspring."⁹ But the so-called *ārsha* form, which implied that the bridegroom sent a cow and a bull

¹ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 75 sqq.

² See *ibid.* p. 79 sqq.

³ Winternitz, 'On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs,' in *Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, p. 287. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 109. ⁴ Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 310

⁵ Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index of Names and Subjects*, i. 482.

⁶ *Mahabharata*, i. 113. 14 sq. ⁷ *Ibid.* i. 113. 9 sqq.

⁸ *Laws of Manu*, iii. 24 sq. ⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 51. Cf. *ibid.* ix. 93, 98.

or two pairs to the bride's father, was counted by Manu and other lawgivers as one of the legitimate modes of marriage.¹ It was expressly denied that this gift was a gratuity,² but there can be little doubt that the *ārsha* form was the survival of a transaction which might be called a purchase. This is borne out by references in the older Grihyasūtras of Pāraskara³ and Sāṅkhāyana⁴ to the practice of giving the father-in-law a hundred cows with a chariot, and by the recognition in the Grihyasūtras of the Kāthaka and the Mānava schools of a usage by which the bride price was paid in money to the father.⁵ Notwithstanding the prohibition in the 'Laws of Manu,' marriage by purchase occurs to this day even among high castes, and is frequently practised among the Śūdras.⁶ Among the Hindus of South India, according to Mr. Padfield, it is not uncommon for the bride's parents to demand a sum of money, sometimes comparatively large, from the boy's friends in addition to the jewels offered to the bride. The name given to the arrangements for this money gift to the girl's parents is one which means bargaining; and where there are several applicants for her hand, it often becomes very much like an auction in which the highest bid is held out for.⁷

Aristotle tells us that in the primitive ages of Greece men bought their wives.⁸ In heroic times a suitor gave *ἔδνα*, consisting of cattle, to the father of the bride elect, and a maid was called *ἀλφεσίβοια*, that is, one who yields her parents many oxen as presents from her suitor,⁹ or by some other name compounded from the Greek word for an

¹ *Ibid.* iii. 29. ² *Ibid.* iii. 53.

³ *Pāraskara-Grihya-Sūtra*, i. 8. 18.

⁴ *Sāṅkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra*, i. 14. 16.

⁵ Keith, 'Marriage (Hindu),' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 451. See also Jolly, *Recht und Sitte*, p. 51 sq. (in Bühler, *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol. ii.).

⁶ Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. i. (India) Report, p. 257. Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India*, p. 102. Mayne, *Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, p. 99. Jolly, *op. cit.* p. 52. Keith, in Hastings, *op. cit.* p. 451.

⁷ Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, p. 99 sq.

⁸ Aristotle, *Politica*, ii. 8.

⁹ *Ilias*, xviii. 593.

ox, the gold currency of the time.¹ Contrary to other writers, Hruza maintains that the *ἔδνα* were not a bride price, but merely a *douceur* intended to prevail upon the father; but he admits that in a yet earlier age marriage by purchase existed in Greece, although, as he rightly points out, the transaction could not have been the purchase of a chattel but only of the rights of a husband.²

Marriage by purchase cannot with equal certainty be established as a form of marriage on Roman soil; but a reminiscence of it is supposed to have been preserved in the symbolical process of *coemptio*, which was the ordinary form in which any Roman citizen, whether patrician or plebeian, might contract a marriage. It was a traditional ceremony representing a purchase of the bride, the intending husband "purchasing" the bride from the person in whose power she was, with a view to thereby acquiring that marital power without which marriage as a legal relationship was considered impossible.³ On the other hand, there are also writers who deny that *coemptio* can be regarded as a survival of ancient bride purchase. Marquardt maintains that it was an artificial and comparatively late form of marriage, whilst *confarreatio*, the specifically patrician kind of marriage which suggested no idea of purchase, was the oldest form of marriage in Rome.⁴ Karlowa thinks that if marriage by purchase prevailed at ancient Rome or among the ancestors of the Romans, a survival of it remained not in the *coemptio* but in the *arrha sponsalitia*, which in historical times was given to the bride.⁵

Marriage by consideration was a custom of all Teutonic peoples. There is a trace of marriage by service in the 'Eyrbyggja Saga': Vigstyr says to the berserk Halli,

¹ Murray, *Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 186.

² Hruza, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des griechischen und römischen Familienrechtes*, i. 8 sqq. For a criticism of Hruza's view see Beauchet, *Histoire du droit privé de la République Athénienne*, i. 113 sqq.

³ Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, pp. 80, 87 sqq. Sohm, *Institutes*, p. 452 sq. Leist, *Alt-arisches Jus Gentium*, pp. 128, 129, 133. Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 110.

⁴ Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 38.

⁵ Karlowa, *Römische Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 166.

who asked for the hand of his daughter *Âsdf*, "As you are a poor man, I shall do as the ancients did and let you deserve your marriage by hard work."¹ But the general consideration given for a bride was money paid down by the bridegroom. Originally, we may presume, the amount of it depended on agreement, but during the period of the law-books, both in England, and on the Continent, it was generally fixed by custom or by statute.² The bride price was called *wittum* or *widem*; the Anglo-Saxons called it *weotuma*, the Langobardians *meta* or *mundium*, the Frisians *mundsket*, the Scandinavians *mundr*, and in Latin it was termed *pretium nuptiale* or *pretium emtionis*.³ Betrothal was *mercatio*, and to marry was *uxorem emere* or *feminam vendere*.⁴ The Kentish law of king Aethelbirht speaks of a man buying a maiden with cattle, and the transaction is called a "bargain."⁵ In Germany the expression "to purchase a wife" was in use till the end of the Middle Ages,⁶ and we find the same term in Christian IV.'s Norwegian Law of 1604.⁷ In Holland the bride is still, in the language of the common people, represented as *verkoht*, that is "sold."⁸ But here again we should notice that marriage by purchase did not imply the purchase of a piece of property: the ancient Teutons bought the *mund*, or protectorship over the woman.⁹

¹ Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben*, p. 242.

² Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 23 sq. Schroeder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 299. Howard, *History of Matrimonial Institutions*, i. 265.

³ Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 70, 299. v. Amira, 'Recht,' in Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, iii. 161.

⁴ Brunner, *Deutsche Rechtsgeschichte*, i. 74. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 299.

⁵ *Laws of King Aethelbirht*, ch. 77. Cf. *ibid.* ch. 31.

⁶ Laband, 'Die rechtliche Stellung der Frauen im altrömischen und germanischen Recht,' in *Zeitschr. für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft*, iii. 154.

⁷ Olivecrona, *Om makars giftorätt i bo*, p. 150.

⁸ Brunner, *op. cit.* i. 74.

⁹ Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 18. v. Amira, *loc. cit.* p. 162. Pollock and Maitland, *History of the English Law before the Time of Edward I.*, ii. 364. Howard, *op. cit.* i. 260. Cf. Brunner, *Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 222 sq.

and other rights which marriage conferred on the husband.

Marriage by purchase prevailed among the early Slavs.¹ The bride price was called *veno*, in Polish *wiano*;² and in old Russian a marriageable girl was called a *kunka*, from *kuna*, "marten," because her parents might exchange her for marten-skins, the usual medium of payment in ancient Russia.³ "To this day among the Russian peasantry," says Schrader, "the first act of the nuptials is the suit or proposal (*sudłanie*), which is a purely commercial transaction. The father of the suitor, usually accompanied by a relative, visits the girl's parents and says, 'We have a purchaser; you a commodity: will you sell your ware?' Then follows the bargaining, which, as our informants state, differs in no respect from a negotiation about the sale of a cow."⁴ Among the Southern Slavs the marriage by purchase still partially prevails, or did so recently. In Serbia, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the price of girls reached such a height that Black George limited it to one ducat.⁵ In High Albania "marriage is entirely by purchase, except for the occasional forcible capture of a girl."⁶

The ancient Celts paid a price for their brides. In Ireland it consisted of various objects, such as articles of gold, silver, or bronze, clothes or horse-bridles, cattle or swine,

¹ Ewers, *Das älteste Recht der Russen*, p. 226. Hartknoch, *All- und neues Preussen*, p. 177. Maciejowski, *Slavische Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 195 (Pomeranians and Bohemians). Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 273. Kovalevsky, 'Marriage among the Early Slavs,' in *Folk-Lore*, i. 463, 465, 478 sq. *Idem*, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia*, p. 26 sqq. Volkov, 'Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine,' in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 168.

² Pipek, *Slawische Brautwerbungs- und Hochzeitsgebräuche*, p. 151.

³ Schrader, 'Family (Teutonic and Balto-Slavic),' in *Hastings, op. cit.* v. 750.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 750.

⁵ Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 275. Wesnitsch, 'Die Blutrache bei den Südslaven,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* ix. 50 sq.

⁶ Miss Durham, 'High Albania and its Customs in 1908,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xl. 459. See also *ibid.* p. 460; Gopčević, *Oberalbanien und seine Liga*, p. 444.

land or houses.¹ It often had the form of a yearly payment from the husband after marriage, and we find it laid down in the Brehon Law that the woman's father was entitled to the whole of the first year's bride price.² In Ireland it was called *coibche*, though there were also other names for it,³ and in Wales *gober* (*gobyr*) or *amober* (*amobor*, *amobyr*).⁴

Among all these peoples, however, marriage by consideration has in the course of time been subject to modifications, which are very similar to certain customs already noticed among some uncivilised tribes; and it has led to institutions totally different from the original practice. The general trend of this process is that the parents of the woman more or less lose the economic advantages they derived from her marriage, and that greater regard is paid to the interests of the contracting parties.

Here, also, we meet with the practice of offering a return gift; and although this practice, as we have seen, may serve different purposes, it seems in some cases at least to be a mitigation of marriage by purchase. In China the parents of the bride, or her guardians, accept only a part of the proffered presents, returning the balance, to which they add some articles for the parents of the bridegroom; but they accept all the money, and all the silks and satins designed for the use of the girl.⁵ The exchange of presents forms, in fact, the subject of a long section in the old penal code; for "the marriage articles and betrothal presents once exchanged, the parties are considered irrevocably engaged."⁶ As to the presents exchanged at the time of sending the engagement cards without which no betrothal

¹ Sullivan's 'Introduction,' in O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. i. p. clxxiv. sq. Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, ii. 4.

² *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, ii. 347; iii. 315. Joyce, *op. cit.* ii. 4 sq.

³ Joyce, *op. cit.* ii. 4.

⁴ d'Arbois de Jubainville, *Cours de littérature celtique*, vii. 234. *Venedotian Code*, ii. 19. 1; *Dimetian Code*, ii. 8. 73 (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, pp. 92, 223).

⁵ Doolittle, *op. cit.* ii. 71.

⁶ Medhurst, 'Marriage, Affinity, and Inheritance in China,' in *Trans. Roy. Asiatic Soc. China Branch*, iv. 11 sq.

regarded as binding, it is said that in the Chinese view they are "omens of good to the parties most intimately concerned."¹ In India, besides the *ārsha* form of marriage, another mode of preserving the symbol of sale, while reflecting the reality, appears to have been the receipt of a gift of real value, such as a chariot and a hundred cows, which was immediately returned to the giver. This arrangement is said by Āpastamba to have been prescribed by the Vedas "in order to fulfil the law"—that is, apparently, the ancient law by which the binding form of marriage was a sale.² In ancient Greece there were at the conclusion of a marriage not only the *ἐδνα* given for the bride but also the *μείλια* or presents given by her father to the bridegroom.³ Tacitus, after speaking of the gifts for which a German obtains his wife, says that the wife "in her turn brings her husband some gift of arms. This," he adds, "represents to them our marriage bond, the mystic celebrations, and all the gods of matrimony."⁴ The Welsh *agweddi* was, strictly speaking, a payment made by the kindred or parent of the bride to the bridegroom, although the word sometimes seems to have been used to include the marriage portion of the bride as well.⁵ The dowry which the bride brought with her may also be partly regarded as a return gift to the husband.⁶

In this group of peoples we also meet with gifts offered to the bride by the bridegroom; and although these gifts no doubt may have an independent origin, they may also be a survival of the old bride price. And we know that in many cases the price paid for the bride, instead of being appropriated by her parents or guardian, became wholly or in part her own property.

In China special presents are sent for the bride, and the

¹ Doolittle, *op. cit.* ii. 66 sqq.

² Āpastamba, ii. 6. 14. 12. Mayne, *op. cit.* p. 97.

³ Hruza, *op. cit.* i. 11. Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 113.

⁴ Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 18.

⁵ Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *The Welsh People*, p. 211.

⁶ Cf. Meissner, *op. cit.* p. 14 (Babylonians); Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, i. 691; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 429.

money given to her parents is generally spent in outfitting her.¹ In Japan the proposed husband sends certain prescribed presents to his future bride, and this sending of gifts forms one of the most important parts of the marriage ceremony. In fact, when once the presents have been sent and accepted, the contract is completed and neither party can retract. Mr. Küchler says that he has been unable to find out the exact meaning of these presents: the native books on marriage are silent on the subject, and the Japanese themselves have no other explanation to give than that the custom has been handed down from ancient times.² But considering that marriage by purchase once prevailed in Japan, it is reasonable to suppose that the sending of presents is a relic of that custom. There is, however, an exchange of gifts: the bride also gives certain conventional presents to her future husband and his parents and relatives, and as to the value of these presents she should always be guided by the value of those brought by the bridegroom.³

In the Laws of Hammurabi we read not only of a bride price, but also of presents (*nudannûm*) which the bridegroom gave to the bride.⁴ Similar gifts, called *mattân*, were also offered to the bride in ancient Israel.⁵ Abraham's servant "brought forth jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment, and gave them to Rebekah: he gave also to her brother and to her mother precious things."⁶ In ancient Arabia the bridegroom offered to the bride a gift, called *ṣadāq*, at their wedding.⁷ But over and above

¹ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 68, 70 sq.

² Küchler, 'Marriage in Japan,' in *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, xiii. 120.

³ *Ibid.* p. 123. Cf. Nakajima, in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 460; Rein, *Japan*, i. 584.

⁴ *Laws of Hammurabi*, §§ 150, 171 sq. (Johns' translation, pp. 30, 35 sq.; Winckler's translation, pp. 43, 49 sqq.). Koschaker, *op. cit.* p. 164 sqq.

⁵ Benzinger, *op. cit.* p. 106.

⁶ *Genesis*, xxiv. 53. Cf. *ibid.* xxxiv. 12.

⁷ Robertson Smith, *op. cit.* p. 76. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 434. For presents given by bridegrooms to their brides in Muhammadan countries see Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 82 sq.

these gifts the bride price, or a part of it, became in the course of time the property of the Semitic bride. Herodotus was probably well informed when he wrote that among the Babylonians "the marriage portions were furnished by the money paid for the beautiful damsels."¹ Dr. Koschaker believes that in Sumerian law the old bride price survived as a present, called *nig-mussa*, which the bridegroom gave to the bride.² Among the Israelites the *mohar* was sooner or later, wholly or partly, given to the bride;³ Laban's daughters complained that their father had sold them as slaves and wasted their *mohar*.⁴ In Arabia the *mahr* was even in pre-Muhammadan times, at least occasionally, given to the wife as her property; and under Islam the distinction between *mahr* and *sadaq* disappeared altogether.⁵

To this day the custom of the husband providing the wife with a dowry is found both among Jews and Muhammadans. In order to protect the wife in the event of her becoming widowed or divorced, it was established by the Jewish Law that before the nuptials the husband was to make out an obligation in writing, which entitled her to receive a certain sum from his estate in the case of his death or in the case of her divorcement. This obligation was termed *kethūbhāh* (the marriage deed). As minimum of this obligation was fixed the sum of two hundred silver *denarii* at the marriage of a virgin and one hundred at the marriage of a widow. For the security of the wife's claim to the amount fixed in the *kethūbhāh* all the property of the husband, both real and personal, was mortgaged. The *kethūbhāh* is still retained in most Jewish marriages, though it has little legal significance in many countries.⁶ It is said that the institution in question was originated or regulated by Simon ben Shatach, about 100 B.C.⁷ But

¹ Herodotus, i. 196.

² Koschaker, *op. cit.* p. 161 sqq.

³ Saalschütz, *Das mosaische Recht*, ii. 736. Mayer, *Die Rechte der Israeliten, Athener und Römer*, ii. 342 sq. Benzinger, *op. cit.* p. 106.

⁴ *Genesis*, xxxi. 15.

⁵ Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 434 sq.

⁶ Abrahams, 'Marriage (Jewish),' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 462

⁷ Mielziner, *op. cit.* p. 85 sq.

it seems very probable that it is in some way connected with the old custom of marriage by consideration.¹

This is undoubtedly the case with the Muhammadan *mahr* or *ṣadāq*, which, though handed over to the father of the bride, is presumed by the Koranic law to become the property of the bride herself.² Islam requires the giving of a *ṣadāq* for the contraction of a valid marriage. It is true that a man may legally marry a woman without mentioning a *ṣadāq*, but in such a case the law presumes a consideration in her favour by virtue of the contract itself.³ As to the amount of the *ṣadāq* there is no maximum fixed by law, though an excessive amount is considered improper both by the Sunnīs and the Shī'ahs. As the minimum the early Ḥanafī lawyers fixed ten dirhems, equal to about four or five shillings, whereas the Mālikīs, inhabiting a poorer and less populous country than that in which the Ḥanafī doctrine flourished, regarded three dirhems as the lowest sum which could be given by way of *ṣadāq*; but these minimums have been abandoned long ago.⁴ In some parts of Morocco the *ṣadāq* is fixed once for all by custom, although the amount may vary greatly even in the same tribe; in one subdivision of the tribe Ulād Bu'āzīz in Dukkāla, for instance, it is twenty *meṭṭal*, nominally eight Spanish pesetas, whereas in another subdivision it is as much as four hundred *meṭṭal*. As a rule, however, the *ṣadāq* varies according to circumstances; at Fez people who are not considered well-off pay seventy to a hundred dollars for a virgin and thirty to forty for a widow or a divorced woman, whilst the *ṣadāq* may be as much as six hundred dollars if the parents of the parties are wealthy.⁵ At Cairo, according to Burckhardt, "among the first-rate merchants the price is from 200 to 300 dollars; among those of the second class, from sixty to eighty; and the lower

¹ Cf. Kohler, 'Rechtsphilosophie und Universalrechtsgeschichte,' in v. Holtzendorff, *Enzyklopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*, i. 29.

² *Koran*, iv. 3. Wellhausen, *loc. cit.* p. 435.

³ Ameer Ali, *Mahomedan Law*, ii. 472 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* ii. 473 sq. Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *Droit Musulman*, i. 95. Sidi Ḥalīl, *op. cit.* § 168 (p. 61).

⁵ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 66 sqq.

classes often pay no more than from three to five dollars.”¹ In Mecca the *mahr* varies between a couple of dollars and some hundred.² In Medina four hundred dollars would be considered a fair average sum among respectable citizens.³ Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai the price of a girl “is from five to ten dollars, but sometimes amounts to thirty, if the girl is well connected and very handsome.”⁴ The *ṣadāq* is commonly smaller if the woman is a widow or a divorced wife;⁵ but in Morocco, at least, it is not invariably so.⁶ It is not necessary that the *ṣadāq* should be paid in money; Sidi Ḥalīl points out that it is lawful to contract a marriage for a *ṣadāq* consisting of household furniture, or a certain number of camels or slaves or the like.⁷ There is nothing in the Koran or in the traditions tending to show that the whole of the *ṣadāq* must be paid prior to the consummation of the marriage; hence later jurists have held that only a portion of it should be considered payable at once or on demand, and the remainder within a certain stipulated period or on the dissolution of the contract, whether by divorce or the death of either of the parties.⁸ At Cairo two-thirds⁹ or one-half¹⁰ of the money is usually paid immediately. In Morocco the *ṣadāq* is sometimes paid in full before the consummation of the marriage, sometimes one-half of it or a smaller part is left unpaid. The “deferred” portion may be paid by instalments or compensated for by a present given to the wife by the husband; but in

¹ Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 113.

² Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii. 158 sq.

³ Burton, *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Al-Madinah and Meccah*, ii. 23 n. 2.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 152.

⁵ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 230 (Cairo). Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 153 (Bedouins of Mount Sinai). Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 67–69, 71 sqq.

⁶ Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 66, 73.

⁷ Sidi Ḥalīl, *op. cit.* § 154 (p. 55).

⁸ Sautayra and Cherbonneau, *op. cit.* i. 98 sqq. Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 482. Sidi Ḥalīl, *op. cit.* §§ 156, 173 (pp. 56, 62).

⁹ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 230.

¹⁰ Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 113.

many cases it is only paid on the death of the latter or if he divorces his wife without sufficient reason, and in some tribes these are the only circumstances in which the *ṣadāq* or a part of it is paid at all, nothing of it being given when the marriage is contracted.¹

Among the Indo-European peoples the transformation of the bride price is indicated in their languages by the fact that the words used for it subsequently assumed the meaning of dowry.² In India the price originally due to the parents or guardian of the bride who surrendered her to the bridegroom became in after times a wedding present, which the bride received from the bridegroom either directly or through her parents.³ *Manu* says, "When the relatives do not appropriate for their use the gratuity given, it is not a sale ; in that case the gift is only a token of respect and of kindness towards the maidens."⁴ This gift was called *ḡulka*, or the bride's fee ; but its close connection with a previous purchase appears from the fact that it passed in a peculiar course of devolution to the woman's own brothers, and one rendering of the text of *Gautama* which regulates this succession even allowed the fee to go to her brothers during her life.⁵ In modern India, according to *Dubois*, men of distinction do not appropriate the money acquired by giving a daughter in marriage, but lay it out in jewels which they present to the bride on the wedding day.⁶

Among the Greeks of the heroic age the bridegroom gave not only *ἔδνα* to the father of the bride but *δῶπα*, or presents, to the bride herself.⁷ Moreover, the father did not always keep the *ἔδνα* for his own use, but bestowed them wholly or in part on the daughter ; and we are also told that the bridegroom himself gave presents to his wife,

¹ See *Westermarck, Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 66 sqq.

² *Schrader, Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 544. *Piprek, op. cit.* p. 151 (Slavs).

³ *Jolly, in Institutes of Vishnu*, p. 69 n. 18.

⁴ *Laws of Manu*, iii. 54.

⁵ *Mayr, Das indische Erbrecht*, p. 170. *Mayne, op. cit.* p. 97. *Gautama*, xxviii. 25 sq.

⁶ *Dubois, Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India*, p. 103.

⁷ *Hruza, op. cit.* i. 14.

when he saw her unveiled for the first time or after the *νύξ μυστική*.¹ In Rome the bridegroom gave to the bride a betrothal present, called *arrha sponsalitia*, which may, or may not, have been the survival of an earlier bride price.²

Among the Teutonic peoples a similar process of development took place. In the time of the folk-laws, from the sixth to the ninth century, the bride price is no longer paid to the father or guardian of the bride, but to the bride herself,³ the right of the guardian being practically limited to the receipt of the *handgeld*, that is, to a merely formal fulfilment,⁴ a *solidus* and a *denarius* according to Salic law.⁵ This, however, does not mean that the former bride price was actually paid to the bride at the conclusion of the marriage: since the wife's property was subject to the husband's control during his lifetime, the bride price was really transformed into a provision for the widow, payable only after death from the husband's goods.⁶ "When light begins to fall upon the Anglo-Saxon betrothal," say Pollock and Maitland, "it is not a cash transaction by which the bride's

¹ Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 220 sq. Hermann-Blümner, *Lehrbuch der griechischen Privatalterthümer*, pp. 262, 266. Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, iii. 377.

² Karlowa, *op. cit.* ii. 166.

³ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 423. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt*, p. 33. Brunner, *Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 223. Laboulaye, *Histoire du droit de propriété foncière en Occident*, p. 403 sq. Ginoulhiac, *Histoire du régime dotal*, p. 187 sq. Friedberg, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, p. 19. Lehmann, *Verlobung und Hochzeit nach den nordgermanischen Rechten des früheren Mittelalters*, p. 59. Olivecrona, *op. cit.* pp. 57, 152. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 325. v. Amira, *loc. cit.*, p. 163. Gudmundsson and Kälund, 'Sitte. Skandinavische Verhältnisse,' in Paul, *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, iii. 418 sq. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 298. Howard, *op. cit.* i. 266. Hoops, *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, i. 513.

⁴ Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 33.

⁵ Grimm, *op. cit.* p. 424. Friedberg, *op. cit.* p. 19 n. 7.

⁶ Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung*, p. 33. Brunner, *Grundzüge der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, p. 223. Friedberg, *op. cit.* p. 19. Howard, *op. cit.* i. 266 sq.

kinsmen receive a price in return for rights over their kinswoman; rather we must say that the bridegroom covenants with them that he will make a settlement upon his future wife. He declares, and he gives security for, the morning-gift which she shall receive if she 'chooses his will' and the dower that she shall enjoy if she outlives him. Though no doubt her kinsmen may make a profit out of the bargain, as fathers and feudal lords will in much later times, the more essential matter is that they should stipulate on her behalf for an honourable treatment as wife and widow."¹ As to the morning gift—which has survived very long in Europe, indeed in Germany² and Switzerland³ up to our own time—various writers have expressed the opinion that it originated in the bride price or formed a part of it.⁴ Schroeder, again, maintains that it has developed out of an ancient "adoption gift," although it afterwards became a pure provision for the widow and, when it consisted of immovable property, was almost entirely amalgamated with the former bride price. He connects it with the *dos* spoken of by Tacitus⁵ in the statement that among the ancient Germans the husband brought a dowry (*dos*) to the wife, not the wife to the husband.⁶ It has, further, been regarded as a *pretium virginittatis*;⁷ but against this view the argument has been adduced that the morning gift was also sometimes given to widows.⁸ The very name of this gift, however, certainly suggests that it has something to do with the consummation of the marriage. But it is quite possible that some other idea than that of mere compensation was connected with it. In Morocco and

¹ Pollock and Maitland, *op. cit.* ii. 365.

² Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das deutsche Privatrecht*, p. 726.

³ Bluntschli, *Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich*, ii. 164 sq.

⁴ Schlyter, *Juridiska afhandlingar*, i. 201. Schlegel, 'Om Morgengavens Oprindelse,' in *Astrea*, ii. 189 sq. Koenigswarter, *Histoire de l'organisation de la famille en France*, p. 123.

⁵ Tacitus, *Germania*, ch. 18.

⁶ Schroeder, *op. cit.* pp. 70, 71, 310 sqq.

⁷ Ginoulhiac, *op. cit.* p. 202. Warnkoenig and Stein, *Fransösische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, ii. 257.

⁸ Weinhold, *op. cit.* i. 402. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 110.

other Muhammadan countries a present of money is given by the bridegroom to the bride immediately before, or sometimes after, the consummation of the marriage ; and I have found reason to suggest that its original object was to serve as a safeguard against evil influences.¹

Among the Great Russians, according to Professor Kovalewsky, the father, as a rule, disposes of the money received from the bridegroom in favour of his daughter, giving her as dowry a larger or smaller sum, according to what he has himself received.² In the Brehon law it is stipulated that the woman's father, though entitled to the whole of the first year's *coibche*, gets only two-thirds of the second year's, one-half of the third year's, and so on ; whilst in each case what is left of the *coibche* belongs to the wife.³ In ancient Wales the husband had to give to his wife a present, called *cowyll*, "for her maidenhood" on the morning after the consummation of the marriage. Its amount, which was fixed by the law, depended on the status of her father.⁴

From marriage by consideration we have thus reached the practice of providing the bride with a marriage portion, which in part consists of the price paid for the bride. The marriage portion serves different ends, often indissolubly mixed up together. It may have the meaning of a return gift. It may imply that the wife as well as the husband is expected to contribute to the expenses of the joint household. It is very often intended to be a settlement for the wife in case the marriage is dissolved through the husband's death or otherwise. But as in such cases the husband generally has the usufruct of the portion as long as the marriage lasts, it may be a return gift to the man at the same time as it is a settlement for the woman. And it may also be, practically, a means of buying a husband.

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 262 *sqq.*

² Kovalewsky, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 479.

³ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, ii. 347 ; iii. 315.

⁴ *Venedotian Code*, ii. 1. 32, 39 ; *Dimetian Code*, ii. 8. 73 (*Ancient Laws and Institutes of Wales*, pp. 42, 44, 223).

Speaking of newly-married people among the ancient Mexicans, Acosta says, "When they went to house they made an inventory of all the man and wife brought together, of provisions for the house, of land, of jewels and ornaments, which inventories every father kept, for if it chanced they made any divorce (as it was common amongst them when they agree not), they divided their goods according to the portion that every one brought."¹

In ancient Babylonia the bride usually brought a dowry from her father's house, which remained her property, although the husband had the usufruct of it.² According to the Laws of Hammurabi, it is returned to her if the husband puts her away;³ or "if she has been economical and has no vice, and her husband has gone out and greatly belittled her," and she in consequence leaves him;⁴ or if she does so because a sickness has seized her and her husband takes another wife.⁵ On her death it passes to her children,⁶ and, in case she leaves no children, to the house of her father, if the bride price has been returned.⁷ But if the husband does not get back the bride price, he shall deduct it from the marriage portion and give the rest to the father-in-law.⁸ This shows that the marriage portion might exceed the bride price. And the custom of providing the bride with a marriage portion, which gradually assumed great importance in Babylonian law, remained after the practice of paying a bride price had fallen into desuetude.⁹

Among the Muhammadans the father of the bride often gives her something in addition to the *ṣadāq* or *mahr* provided by the bridegroom. Among the Muhammadans of India

¹ Acosta, *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ii. 370.

² See Kohler and Peiser, *Aus dem Babylonischen Rechtsleben*, iv. 11.

³ *Laws of Hammurabi*, § 138 (Johns' translation, p. 27; Winckler's translation, p. 41).

Ibid. § 142 (Johns' trans. p. 28; Winckler's trans. p. 41).

Ibid. § 148 sq. (Johns' trans. p. 29; Winckler's trans. p. 43).

Ibid. § 162 (Johns' trans. p. 32; Winckler's trans. p. 47).

Ibid. § 163 (Johns' trans. p. 32 sq.; Winckler's trans. p. 47).

Ibid. § 164 (Johns' trans. p. 33; Winckler's trans. p. 47).

Kohler, in Holtzendorff, *op. cit.* i. 29.

"the bride's father is bound to furnish her with a wedding outfit, unless he is in straitened circumstances, when the obligation rests with the husband. When a man advances a sum of money towards the *trousseau* of his future wife, it is obligatory on the father, if he be possessed of means, to do the same or contribute such an amount as is customary."¹ In Egypt not only the dowry paid by the bridegroom but an additional sum supplied by the bride's family, which is often more than the dowry itself, is expended in purchasing the articles of furniture, dress, and ornaments for the bride.² At Aleppo in Syria "le prix payé est . . . employé, avec une pareille somme que donne le père de la future, en meubles, ustensiles, effets d'habillement."³ At Fez I was told that custom requires the father of the bride to spend on her *trousseau* from his own money at least the same amount as the *ṣadāq*—the so-called *mīt'āl*.⁴ In Andjra, in Northern Morocco, he is expected at his own expense to provide her with a *ṣwār* of wearing apparel;⁵ and among the Ait Tāmēldu, a Berber tribe of the Great Atlas, it is a matter of pride to a father to give his daughter a good *liqqāma*, consisting for example of a cow, some sheep, silver ornaments, silk kerchiefs, and other articles, worth perhaps from fifty to two hundred dollars, although a poor man may have nothing to give but some clothes bought with the *āmerwas*, or *ṣadāq*.

Among the Vedic people dowries were not infrequently given by fathers or brothers in order to secure the marriage of daughters or sisters.⁶ It may be assumed that in such cases the husband appropriated the dowry, as well as her earnings, if any; for even in the Epic⁷ the rise of the recog-

¹ Ameer Ali, *op. cit.* ii. 508.

² Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 175.
Cf. Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, p. 20.

³ Guys, *Un Dervich algérien en Syrie*, p. 199.

⁴ Cf. Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa*, ii. 450.

⁵ Cf. Michaux-Bellaire, 'Quelques tribus de montagnes de la région du Hapt,' in *Archives marocaines*, xvii. 128.

⁶ Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.* i. 482. Keith, in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 449.

⁷ *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, iv. 4. 2. 13.

dition of women's property as their own (*strīdhana*) is only slow.¹ The *strīdhana* is mentioned by Gautama² but first described in detail in the *Arthasāstra*³ and by Vishnu.⁴ It included any presents from parents, sons, brothers, or other relatives, the marriage gifts, the bride price (*ṣulka*) when given to the woman by her father, and the fine paid by her husband if she was degraded from her position as chief wife in favour of another.⁵ This property fell on her death to her daughters, if she had any ;⁶ if not, apparently, to her sons, who according to some shared it with their sisters in any event.⁷ In case she died without issue, it belonged to her husband if she had married according to one of the four superior forms of marriage, but otherwise to her father.⁸ The Hindu law recognises the dominion of a married woman over this property, but the husband has nevertheless power to use and consume it in case of distress.⁹

In ancient Gaul, according to Caesar, the wife brought a dowry, but the husband also added an equal amount taken from his own property ; and on the death of either party the survivor received both portions, along with the revenues accumulated after marriage.¹⁰ Among the Irish the fact that the husband paid the bride price did not prevent the bride bringing goods or valuables of her own, if she had them ; very frequently, in fact, she brought with her jewels or gold or herds or lands, which continued to be her own special property.¹¹ Moreover, in many cases the friends of the young couple made a collection for them, which was

¹ Macdonell and Keith, *op. cit.* i. 484. ² *Gautama*, xxviii. 24 sq.

³ *Arthasāstra*, iii. 2. 59, quoted by Keith, *loc. cit.* p. 454.

⁴ *Institutes of Vishnu*, xvii. 18 sqq.

⁵ *Ibid.* xvii. 18. *Laws of Manu*, ix. 194. Mandlik, *Vyavahāra Mayūkha*, p. 91 sq. Keith, *loc. cit.* p. 454.

⁶ *Gautama*, xxviii. 24. *Institutes of Vishnu*, xvii. 21.

⁷ *Laws of Manu*, ix. 192, 195. Mandlik, *op. cit.* p. 95. Keith, *loc. cit.* p. 454. ⁸ *Institutes of Vishnu*, xvii. 19 sq.

⁹ Macnaghten, *Principles of Hindu Law*, p. 33 sq. Steele, *Law and Custom of Hindoo Castes*, p. 67.

¹⁰ Caesar, *Commentarii de bello Gallico*, vi. 19. Cf. d'Arbois de Jubainville, *op. cit.* vii. 240 ; Jullian, *Histoire de la Gaule*, ii. 408.

¹¹ Joyce, *op. cit.* ii. 6. Sullivan's 'Introduction,' in O'Curry, *op. cit.* vol. i. p. clxxii.

called *tinól*, that is, "collection," of which two-thirds belonged by law to the man and one-third to the woman.¹ If the wife separated in consequence of injury inflicted on her by the husband and proved her case, she was entitled to her dowry, or that part of it that remained with her after marriage.² If the couple separated by mutual consent, the woman took away with her all she had brought on the marriage day; whilst the man retained what he had contributed. Supposing the joint property had gone on increasing during married life, then at separation the couple divided the whole in proportion to the original contributions.³ In ancient Wales the daughter seems to have been entitled to a marriage portion or settlement (*gwaddol*) from her father or kindred, which usually included not only things of utility for a new household but also articles for her own use.⁴ In case the couple separated before the end of seven years (less three days), the wife was to receive this portion back, whereas if she left her husband before the seventh year without good cause she lost all her property except the *cowyll* and her right to any fine due from the husband for having committed adultery. If the separation took place after this period, the property of the couple was divided into two portions.⁵

At Athens it was the general rule that a woman at her marriage brought with her a dowry (*προίξ*), usually consisting of money and often also of movable objects, rarely of real estate.⁶ It was the wife's contribution towards the expenses of the marriage, and at the same time served as an obstacle to the dissolution of the union for frivolous reasons.⁷ The amount of the dowry was left to the dis-

¹ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, ii. 347, 350 sq. Joyce, *op. cit.* ii. 6.

² *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, v. 293.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 397.

⁴ Rhys and Brynmor-Jones, *op. cit.* p. 209.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 213. Lewis, *Ancient Laws of Wales*, p. 8 sq.

⁶ Hruza, *op. cit.* i. 24. Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 289 sqq. Hermann-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 263.

⁷ Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 299. Hruza, *op. cit.* i. 24 sq. Becker-Göll, *op. cit.* iii. 312. Hermann-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 264. Isaeus, *Oratio de Pyrrhi hereditate*, § 36, p. 41.

cretion of her father,¹ and there is no evidence that it was a legal obligation for him to provide his daughter with any dowry at all.² At the same time the dowry became almost a criterion of honourable marriage as distinguished from concubinage;³ Isaeus says that no decent man would give his legitimate daughter less than a tenth of his property.⁴ The husband enjoyed the usufruct of the dowry;⁵ hence Euripides, transferring to the heroic age the practice of his own time, makes Medea complain that her sex had to purchase husbands with great sums of money.⁶ But the dowry remained the wife's property; and as the husband might have to pay it back some day, he was generally required to mortgage real estate as security.⁷ While the union continued the dowry could not be withdrawn; but upon dissolution of marriage on the initiative of either party or by mutual agreement it must be refunded to the woman's father or guardian.⁸ Rupture by death of either party compelled restitution if there was no issue. On the other hand, if there were children and the widow continued to live in the conjugal domicile, the dowry became their property; but she might also choose to go back with her dowry to her father's house. The dowry thus followed the wife and went to her children.⁹ It may be added that in Greece the privilege of being provided with a marriage portion was not restricted to the women of Athens. In the time of Aristotle nearly two-fifths of the whole territory of Sparta were supposed to belong to women as their dowers.¹⁰

In Rome, even more than in Greece, the marriage portion became a mark of distinction for a legitimate wife. A

¹ Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 287 sqq.

² *Ibid.* i. 262 sqq.

³ Cauvet, 'De l'organisation de la famille à Athènes,' in *Revue de législation et de jurisprudence*, xxiv. 154.

⁴ Isaeus, *Oratio de Pyrrhi hereditate*, § 51, p. 43.

⁵ Cauvet, *loc. cit.* p. 154. Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 303 sqq.

⁶ Euripides, *Medea*, 231 sqq.

⁷ Cauvet, *loc. cit.* p. 155. Meier and Schömann, *Der attische Process*, p. 518 sq. Mayer, *op. cit.* ii. 345 sq. Hermann-Blümner, *op. cit.* p. 265. Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 331 sqq. Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *op. cit.* i. 692.

⁸ Beauchet, *op. cit.* i. 317 sqq.

⁹ *Ibid.* i. 311 sqq.

¹⁰ Aristotle, *Politica*, ii. 9. 11.

woman had a legal right to demand a *dos*, or dower, from her father, but it was to be given to her husband, not to herself, as a contribution towards the defrayal of the expenses of the joint household—*ad matrimonii onera ferenda*—although it was also intended as a provision in the interests of the wife.¹ According to the ancient law of the Republic the husband had all the rights and remedies incident to ownership as such, including amongst others the right to alienate and mortgage; and he was recognised as the sole owner of the *dos* not only during the marriage but also after its dissolution.² But in the course of time the husband's rights were subjected to important restrictions. The 'Lex Julia de adulteriis' of the year 18 B.C. prohibited him from alienating or mortgaging any *fundus Italicus* comprised in the *dos*; and Justinian extended this prohibition to any dotal land whatever. Not even the wife's consent could validate a mortgage or a sale of the dotal land, which was thus in all circumstances preserved intact for the wife.³ The husband's right to the use and the fruits of the *dos* was restricted to the time during which the marriage lasted. In the law prior to Justinian his obligation to restore the *dos* was still a very limited one: he continued to be acknowledged as the true owner of it even after the dissolution of the marriage, and it was only within certain limits that the law allowed the wife, or the person who provided the *dos*, to maintain an obligatory claim for a return of it side by side with the ownership of the husband. But Justinian's law imposed upon the husband the duty to return the *dos* in all circumstances, except when the dissolution of the marriage was caused by the misconduct of the wife.⁴ These restrictions in the husband's right to dispose of his wife's marriage portion were probably, to some extent, connected with the loosening of the marriage tie; the confusion of the *dos* with the husband's patrimony was of comparatively little moment as long as marriage was contracted for life, but must have become intolerable when divorces grew frequent. But it seems that the lines upon which the

¹ Sohm, *Institutes*, p. 465 sq.

² *Ibid.* p. 467 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 467.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 470 sq.

development of the Roman law of *dos* proceeded were also largely determined by the influence of Greek law, according to which the wife was the owner of her marriage portion.¹

The general tradition of the Roman *dos* was carried on by the Church, the practical object of the marriage portion being to secure for the wife a provision of which the husband could not wantonly deprive her and which would remain to her after his death.² The Justinian principle that the wife's dotation remains her property, although the husband administers and has the use of it, underlies the later legislation on the subject, though it has been more or less modified in the laws of the different countries. Justinian himself declared, in several constitutions, that the giving of a *dos* is obligatory for persons of high rank only;³ but the old custom did not fall into desuetude. According to many later laws a daughter is entitled to demand a dowry at her marriage.⁴ The Prussian 'Landrecht' still prescribes that the father, or eventually the mother, shall arrange about the wedding and fit up the house of the couple.⁵ According to the 'Code Napoléon,' on the other hand, parents are not bound to provide their daughter with a marriage portion;⁶ and the same principle has generally been adopted by modern legislation. Yet there is still a strong feeling, especially in the so-called Latin countries, in favour of dotation. This feeling, as Sir Henry Maine remarks, is the principal source of those habits of saving and hoarding which characterise the French people, and is probably descended, by a long chain of succession, from the obligatory provisions of the Roman law.⁷

In our days there is particularly one factor that tends

¹ Mitteis, *Reichsrechte und Volksrecht in den östlichen Provinzen des römischen Kaiserreichs*, p. 231 sqq. Sohm, *Institutes*, p. 472 n. 5.

² Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, p. 338.

³ Ginoulhiac, *op. cit.* p. 103.

⁴ For *dos necessaria* in Germany see Mittermaier, *Grundsätze des gemeinen deutschen Privatrechts*, ii. 3.

⁵ Eccius, 'Dotationspflicht,' in Holtzendorff, *Encyclopädie der Rechtswissenschaft*, pt. ii. vol. i. 414.

⁶ *Code Napoléon*, art. 204.

⁷ Maine, *Early History of Institutions*, p. 339.

to preserve the marriage portion as a social institution of some importance. In a society where monogamy is prescribed by law, where the adult women outnumber the adult men, where many men never marry, and where married women too often lead an indolent life—in such a society the marriage portion not infrequently becomes a purchase-sum by means of which a father buys a husband for his daughter, as formerly a man bought a wife from her father.

In India the difficulty of finding a husband for a daughter has led to undisguised purchase of bridegrooms. Whilst the low castes ordinarily pay for the bride, the high castes pay for the bridegroom ; and in some cases very large sums are paid, especially where hypergamy prevails, that is, where girls must marry in a caste equal or superior to their own, or where there is a great shortage of women. In recent times the bridegroom price has been affected very largely by the educational qualifications of the bridegroom. A Kāyastha graduate in Bengal usually fetches from Rs.500 to Rs.1,000, and in some instances even Rs.10,000 have been recorded.¹

¹ Gait, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. 1. (India) Report, p. 257. Subramhanya Aiyar, *ibid.* vol. xxiii. (Travancore) Report, p. 149. Elliot, *Memoirs on the History, Folk-Lore, and Distribution of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, i. 250. Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 316. Risley, *People of India*, p. 165 *sqq.*

CHAPTER XXIV

MARRIAGE RITES

EVEN when the consent which is necessary for the conclusion of a marriage has been given and other conditions mentioned above have been fulfilled, something may still be required to make the union valid or the marriage, from the legal point of view, complete. Moreover, though not indispensable for the conclusion of a marriage, certain ceremonies are often observed in accordance with old-established custom.

The rites connected with the conclusion of a marriage often form a long sequence of practices and taboos, which may commence at the moment when the marriage is first thought of and last till after it has been concluded. They are particularly prominent at the betrothal and the wedding and during the period lying between these events. The length of this period, or of the interval between the celebration of the betrothal and the wedding, varies indefinitely—it may last for years or months or days or only a few hours; or there may be no such period at all. In the West of Ireland only a day or two intervenes between the festive betrothal and the nuptial ceremony.¹ Among the Jews it was already in the eleventh century customary to solemnise both the betrothal and the marriage proper on the same day, either contemporaneously or with an interval of a few hours, during which the bridal party feasted merrily

¹ Blake, 'Matrimonial Customs in the West of Ireland,' in *Folk-Lore*, xviii. 80.

at the new husband's cost.¹ In ancient Rome the betrothal, or *sponsalia*, although the proper and usual preliminary of marriage, was not legally necessary; and in the ritual of the Christian Church, which is largely derived from the Roman *sponsalia* and *nuptiæ*, the betrothal and nuptials were from early times combined in practice.² But in popular customs they still remain separate, though the introduction of the ecclesiastic ceremony has led to a great confusion of the rites practised on those occasions.³

In a monograph on the marriage rites of a single people or group of related peoples it is natural to deal with them in the order in which they follow upon one another. This is what I have done in my essay on 'Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco.' But in the present treatise I shall adopt another method. Similar rites will be grouped together even though found at different stages of the ritual. This, of course, does not imply that no notice is taken of their place in the sequence; the occasion when a rite occurs is often of the greatest importance for its interpretation. But the same rite may occupy a different place in different cases; sometimes, for instance, it may be practised at the betrothal and at other times at the wedding, or it may occur on both occasions among the same people. My chief object will be to find out the meaning of the rites. The conclusions, however, must often be hypothetical. For very often the meaning of a rite is not mentioned at all, or the interpretation given of it shows that the idea originally underlying it has been forgotten; and rites which externally resemble each other may serve very different purposes.

The most general social object of marriage rites is to give publicity to the union. "Publicity," says Miss Burne, "is everywhere the element which distinguishes a recognised marriage from an illicit connection."⁴ In order to be recognised as valid, the union may have to be sanctioned by an

¹ Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 178.

² Foley, 'Marriage (Christian),' in Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, viii. 436.

³ See Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit*, particularly i. 72.

⁴ Miss Burne, *Handbook of Folklore*, p. 203.

official. This is the case not only in modern civilised countries. Among the ancient Peruvians the king convoked annually, or every two years, at Cuzco all the marriageable young men and maidens of his family. After calling them by name he joined their hands and delivered them to their parents. Such marriages among that class were alone denominated lawful; and the governors and chiefs were by their offices obliged to marry, after the same formalities, the young men and women of the provinces over which they presided.¹ In Nicaragua, also, marriage was "a civil rite, performed by the cacique."² Among the savage Pomo of California, who have two chiefs, a "war-chief" and a "peace-chief," the latter, as being a kind of *censor morum*, has to perform the marriage ceremonies, so far as they extend, that is, he causes the parties to enter into a simple covenant in presence of their parents and friends.³ Among the Subanu of Mindanao "marriages are performed by the *timuai* or chief of a settlement, and he may be rewarded for his services if the groom is able to make a gift."⁴ Among the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula the chief formally declared the parties married.⁵ In certain tribes no marriage is said to be permitted without the chief's approval.

Publicity may be achieved in other ways as well. Among the Maori belonging to the inferior classes "it was customary, if the marriage had not been arranged at the annual meeting, for a girl intending matrimony to call an assembly of her friends the night before her marriage, and, standing up, proclaim to them, 'I am going to take a husband. So and So is his name.' This was sufficient for the purpose."⁶ Among the Kubus of Sumatra the chief part of the whole

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Yncas*, i. 306 sq.

² Squier, 'Observations on the Archæology and Ethnology of Nicaragua,' in *Trans. American Ethn. Soc.* vol. iii. pt. i. 127.

³ Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 157.

⁴ Finley and Churchill, *Subanu*, p. 29 sq.

⁵ de Morgan, 'Mœurs, coutumes et langages des Négritos de l'intérieur de la presqu'île Malaise,' in *Bull. Soc. normande de Géogr.* vii. 422.

⁶ Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 293.

marriage ceremony is the simple announcement of the union.¹ Among the pagan tribes of the Malay Peninsula in general the act of purchase alone is said to be regarded as sufficiently binding so long as it is performed before proper witnesses.² Most Manipuris "regard cohabitation and public acknowledgment as sufficient," provided that due regard has been paid to their endogamous and exogamous rules.³ Among the Ekoi of Southern Nigeria the bride's acceptance of the bridegroom's wedding gift "must be followed by public proclamation of the marriage before chiefs and people, after the bell has been rung round the town for the purpose."⁴

Under the Muhammadan Sunnī law it is required that there should be at least two witnesses present to attest the conclusion of the contract of marriage—to testify that it was properly entered into and in accordance with the conditions laid down for the contractual performance of marriage;⁵ and the Malikīs insist that the witnesses should be "men of established reputation."⁶ The Talmud recommended that a "congregation" should be constituted for the purpose of celebrating a wedding, that is, the presence of ten adult males was regarded as desirable, and in the Middle Ages many Jewish communities converted this desire into a binding statute.⁷ In classical Sanskrit literature Agni (the fire) is often called the "witness" of marriages, and a marriage witnessed by the fire, according to Hindu ideas, cannot be annulled.⁸ Nowadays five of the gods are invoked and requested to be present at a Brahman wedding, namely Indra, Varuna, Chandra, Yama, and

¹ Hagen, *Die Orang Kubu auf Sumatra*, p. 133.

² Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii. 55.

³ Hodson, *Meithei*, p. 116.

⁴ Talbot, *In the Shadow of the Bush*, p. 105 sq.

⁵ Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, ii. 325.

⁶ Sidi Halil, *Muhtaṣar*, 5 (Russell and Abdullah al-Ma'mun Suhrawardy, 'Manual of the Law of Marriage' from the *Mukhtaṣar* of Sidi Khalil, p. 2).

⁷ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 199.

⁸ Winternitz, 'On a Comparative Study of Indo-European Customs, with special reference to the Marriage Customs,' in *Transactions of the International Folk-Lore Congress*, 1891, p. 287. *Idem*, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 61.

Brahma.¹ Among the Parsees a marriage must be celebrated before an assembly of at least five persons who have been summoned for this special occasion.² The Roman *confarreatio*, the patrician form of marriage, needed the presence of the Pontifex Maximus, the Flamen Dialis, and ten other witnesses.³ In Teutonic countries the betrothal has up to modern times taken place in the presence of witnesses.⁴

Publicity may have to be given to the sexual consummation of the marriage. Among the Bantu Kavirondo the bridegroom consummates it in the presence of a large number of girls and women.⁵ Among the Lower Congo people witnesses have to see if the bridegroom can consummate the marriage; and if through impotency he cannot, the marriage is broken off.⁶ Among the Koita of British New Guinea, when the young man is ready to marry he sends a message about it to the bride's mother, and "that night the bride prepares a sleeping mat for the bridegroom, who now comes to her publicly, before the house is quiet for the night."⁷ Among the Iyca, a Chibcha tribe in Northern Colombia, the consummation of the marriage takes place in the presence of a respectable elderly Indian, though not actually under his eyes, and is then at once publicly announced.⁸ Among the Salinan Indians of California, "whenever a youth and maid appear in company, both marked by the scratches of finger-nails, they are thus known to have contracted matrimony on the

¹ Padfield, *The Hindu at Home*, p. 102.

² Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 'Marriage (Iranian).—1. Zoroastrian,' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 456.

³ Roszbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 117 sqq.

⁴ Nordström, *Bidrag till den svenska samhälls-författningens historia*, ii. 15. Bächtold, *Die Gebräuche bei Verlobung und Hochzeit*, i. 76 sqq. Tröels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16^{de} Aarhundrede*, ix. 131. Hytén-Cavallius, *Wärend och Wirdarne*, ii. 439.

⁵ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 747.

⁶ Weeks, 'Notes on some Customs of the Lower Congo People,' in *Folk-Lore*, xix. 413.

⁷ Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 77 sq.

⁸ Bolinder, *Iyca-indianernas kultur*, p. 252 sq.

preceding night. This alone is considered proof and they are publicly known as man and wife throughout the rancheria."¹ In Teutonic countries, where a marriage was formerly regarded as legally valid only when it could be proved that the couple had been together under the same blanket, the bride and bridegroom went to bed in the presence of witnesses.² This custom has survived up to quite modern times;³ indeed, in some places in Skåne, in the south of Sweden, they were still in the beginning of the nineteenth century undressed in the presence of all the guests,⁴ and in Bohuslän, in the same country,⁵ and in Mark Brandenburg in Germany,⁶ it was not long ago the custom for the guests to enter into the bridal room after the couple had gone to bed. Among all Slavonic peoples bride and bridegroom are solemnly conducted into the nuptial chamber, and among most of them the bride goes to bed with her husband in the presence of witnesses.⁷ It seems that a very similar custom prevailed in ancient India.⁸ In Rome the *pronuba* accompanied the couple into the bridal room.⁹

An extremely frequent method of giving publicity to the union is to celebrate it with feasting, the guests being, in a way, regarded as witnesses.¹⁰ Sometimes the wedding takes place in the house of the bride's parents, sometimes in that of the bridegroom; but feasts may also be held in

¹ Fages, quoted by Mason, *Ethnology of the Salinan Indians*, p. 163.

² *Äldre Västgötalagen*, edited by Sjöros, Giptær bolvær, ix. 2, p. 59. Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 440 sq. Nordström, *op. cit.* i. 28 sq. Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 399. Lehmann, *Verlobung und Hochzeit nach den nordgermanischen Rechten des früheren Mittelalters*, p. 80 sqq.

³ Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 181 sqq.

⁴ Nicolovius (Lovén), *Folkklifvet i Skytts Härad i Skåne vid början af detta århundrade*, p. 144.

⁵ Holmberg, *Bohuslans historia och beskrifning*, i. 243.

⁶ Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 358.

⁷ Piprek, *Slawische Brautwerbungs- und Hochzeitsgebräuche*, p. 174.

⁸ Haas, 'Die Heirathsgebräuche der alten Inder,' in Weber, *Indische Studien*, v. 278, 279, 401. Schrader, *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde*, p. 358.

⁹ Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 329.

¹⁰ Cf. Demosthenes, *Oratio I. adversus Onetorem*, 21:

both places. In some cases, however, the expenses are defrayed by the bridegroom, although the feast is celebrated in the bride's home.¹ At the same time the wedding does not merely serve the object of making the marriage public, it brings together the families of the bride and the bridegroom and makes them more friendly to each other; in this respect its social importance must be particularly great in countries where a common meal is looked upon almost as an act of covenanting.²

The various marriage rites are performed for many different purposes. Some of them have direct reference to the separation of the bride from her old home. To these belong the ceremonial resistance made by her relatives or herself and the official crying of the bride, which have been discussed in a previous chapter. There are also, no doubt, other rites which might be classified among the so-called *rites de séparation*, spoken of by M. van Gennep; but the list he gives of these rites³ is distinctly overloaded. Some of them are mainly prophylactic, and others have reference not to separation pure and simple but to the transition from one state of life to another. This, for instance, may be said of the custom of changing clothes, as when an English "peasant-bride about to dress for her wedding, first strips herself of every article of clothing, and begins absolutely *de novo* to attire herself in new and unwashed garments, rejecting even pins that have ever been used before."⁴ Again, the *rites d'agrégation*, mentioned by M. van Gennep, belong to a larger class of marriage rites, namely, those which have a bearing upon the new condition brought about by the marriage. For many of these the term "rites of aggregation" would be entirely inappropriate.

Some of the most frequent marriage rites symbolise the

¹ E.g., among the Li in Hainan (Strzoda, 'Die Li auf Hainan,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 204), Burmese (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 57).

² See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 364 sq. Cf. van Gennep, *Les rites de passage*, p. 189; Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 123.

³ van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 185 sq.

⁴ Miss Burne, *Shropshire Folk-Lore*, p. 289.

union between the parties or, rather, are originally intended to strengthen the marriage tie. First, there is the joining of hands. In Africa this custom is found among the Wabondei,¹ whilst in Abyssinia bride and bridegroom crook their little fingers together.² At Limestone, in Queensland, when a marriage is contracted, "the parties join hands in the presence of the tribe."³ Among the Nufors of New Guinea an old man puts the right hand of the bridegroom in that of the bride.⁴ Among the Benua of Malacca one of the elders of the tribe makes an address in which he says, "Listen, all ye that are present, those that were separated are now united"; the young couple then approach each other and join hands, and the sylvan ceremony is concluded.⁵ Among the Sakai, again, "the little finger of the right hand of the man is joined to that of the left hand of the woman."⁶ Among the Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts the *deesari*, a sort of priest of indigenous origin, joins the little fingers of the couple, "apparently in recognition of their union in a holy wedlock."⁷ The old custom in Burma was "that the bride and bridegroom should join their right hands together, palm to palm, in the presence of all the assembled guests."⁸

The joining of hands, or the bridegroom's taking the bride by the hand, has of old been one of the most important marriage ceremonies among all Indo-European peoples.⁹

¹ Dale, 'Account of the Principal Customs and Habits of the Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxv. 199.

² Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia*, ii. 54.

³ Lang, *Cooksland in North-Eastern Australia*, p. 394. *Idem*, *Queensland*, p. 337.

⁴ van Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* viii. 181.

⁵ Newbold, *Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, ii. 407.

⁶ Low, 'Karean Tribes,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, iv. 431.

⁷ Hayavadana Rao, 'Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts,' in *Anthropos*, v. 794.

⁸ Shway Yoe, *op. cit.* p. 57.

⁹ Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 355 sq. Leist, *Alt-arisches Jus Gentium*, pp. 150, 156 sq. Haas, *loc. cit.* p. 310 sq. Schmidt, *Beiträge zur Indischen Erotik. Das Liebesleben des Sanskritvolkes*, p. 499 sqq. Sohm, *Das Recht der Eheschliessung aus dem deutschen und canonischen Recht geschichtlich entwickelt*, p. 57. Brand, *Observations on Popular*

In the Veda the husband is called *hastagrābha*, "hand-taker," and *pāṇigrahaṇa* or *hastagrahaṇa*, "hand-taking," is a common name for "wedding" in Sanskrit.¹ According to the Grihyasūtras, the bridegroom with his right hand takes the right hand of the bride, reciting the verse from the Rig-Veda, "I take thy hand for the sake of happiness, that thou mayst live to old age with me, thy husband; the gods Bhaga, Aryaman, Savitri, and Purandhi have given thee to me for householdership (or, for the sake of keeping the domestic fire)." ² In Rome the bride, under the guidance of a *pronuba* who must be a matron only once married, placed her right hand in the right hand of the bridegroom.³ The joining of hands may undoubtedly be an expression of several different ideas. By the *dextrarum junctio* the bride came under the *manus* of the husband, or was "handed over" to him. The joining of hands is also from early times the outward sign of a troth that two persons give to each other; *Handschlag*, *Hand in Hand geloben*, *Handgelübde*, are familiar legal phrases in Germany.⁴ But it is obvious that the rite in question very frequently at least is a symbolic act of union; and this may be the case even when it is something else besides.

In some European countries and in many parts of India the hands of the bridal pair are not only joined but tied together. This custom occurs in Poland and Bulgaria.⁵ In Portugal the priest ties the hands of the pair with the end of his stole, and a similar custom is found among the Saxonians in Transylvania. Among several castes in *Antiquities*, p. 345 sq. Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 5, 23, 89, 102, 109, 166 (Slavs). Máchal, 'Marriage (Slavic),' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 471. Bächtold, *op. cit.* p. 117 sqq. Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 282. *Idem*, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 48 sqq. On the joining of hands among Ugro-Finnic peoples see Hämäläinen, *Mordvalaisten, tšeremissien ja voljakkien kosinta- ja häätavoista*, p. 218 sqq.

¹ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 282. *Idem*, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 48. Cf. Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 311 sq.

² *Grihya-Sūtras*, i. 35, 167, 282, 381, 383; ii. 47, 189, 259.

³ Festus, *De verborum significatione quae supersunt*, p. 242b. Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 308, 329.

⁴ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 282. Bächtold, *op. cit.* i. 113 sqq.

⁵ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 73, 146.

Southern India the bridegroom takes the bride by the hand, whereupon the hands are bound together with a handkerchief. In Bengal and in Lahore the hands of the young couple are tied together with a string of flowers, among the Parsees of Bombay with a delicate twine.¹ Among the Sinhalese a maternal uncle of the bride or some other principal member of her family joins together with a chain the little fingers of the right hands of the bride and bridegroom, who thereupon turn three times round to the right; the chain is then taken off.² According to another account of the same people, however, bride and bridegroom have generally their thumbs tied together; but "when it is desired to make the marriage as firm and indissoluble as the nature of their manners will allow, the parties are joined together with a long piece of cloth, which is folded several times round both their bodies."³ Among the Veddas the bride ties a thin cord of her own twisting round the bridegroom's waist, and they are then husband and wife; this string is emblematic of the marriage tie, and "as he never parts with it, so he clings to his wife through life."⁴ In Burma a ribbon is sometimes stretched round the couple, and their hands are clasped.⁵ Among the Chukmas of Chittagong "the bride and bridegroom are made to sit together, and two of their relations, a man and a woman, will with the consent of all present bind the couple together with a white cloth."⁶ Among the Hindus of South India, after the bride's family priest has asked the bridegroom if he is willing to take So-and-so to wife and he has answered in the affirmative, the ends of the upper garments of the pair are tied together in what is called the Brahman knot. In tying this knot the priest says, "You must trust and be a prop to each other." They sit thus tied together until it may be necessary for them to move away from the place. This

¹ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 283. ² *Niti-Nighaṇḍuva*, p. 18.

³ Percival, *Account of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 180.

⁴ Bailey, 'Account of the Wild Tribes of the Veddahs of Ceylon,' in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. N.S.* ii. 293 sq. See also Seligman, *Veddahs*, p. 97.

⁵ Fielding Hall, *The Soul of a People*, p. 187 sq.

⁶ Hutchinson, *Account of the Chittagong Hill Tracts*, p. 97.

tying of the cloths is an important part of the marriage ceremony, and is repeated at various stages of the proceedings.¹ Among the Moriori of the Chatham Islands "in the darkness of evening the young pair were set together in the centre of a house that had been swept and garnished, and their friends formed a circle about them, holding a thin rope of plaited grass, which was placed round the shoulders of the wedded pair and knotted into a ring (*henga*) binding them together."² Among the Tarahumare of Mexico the bridal couple are covered with blankets, and in some cases their right hands are tied together.³

Among the Orang Mamaq of Sumatra the bride and bridegroom are sitting on the ground face to face with the feet touching each other.⁴ In the Andaman Islands the bridegroom is made to sit down on the bride's thighs, which are straightened out for the purpose by her female attendants.⁵ At Khasi weddings "the couple about to be married merely sit together in one seat, and receive their friends, to whom they give a dinner or feast."⁶ Among some of the Negritos of Zambales an old man of the tribe knocks the heads of bride and bridegroom together.⁷ Among the Negritos of Bataan, in Luzon, "les fiancés doivent grimper au sommet de deux arbres flexibles et voisins; le chef incline les arbres l'un vers l'autre, et, quand les fronts des deux futurs sont arrivés au contact, le mariage est devenu un fait accompli."⁸ In China, after the couple have sipped some wine and changed glasses, the hair of the bridegroom is fastened to that of the bride, and *vice versa*; hence the phrase "hair-fastened" couple, meaning inseparable or faithful and loving.⁹

¹ Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 104 sq. ² Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 580.

³ Lumholtz, *Unknown Mexico*, i. 870.

⁴ Hagen, *Die Orang Kubu auf Sumatra*, p. 165.

⁵ Man, 'Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 137.

⁶ Steel, 'On the Khasia Tribe,' in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, N.S. vol. vii. 308.

⁷ Reed, *Negritos of Zambales*, p. 59. See also Lala, *Philippine Islands*, p. 96. ⁸ Montano, *Voyage aux Philippines*, p. 71.

⁹ Leong and Tao, *Village and Town Life in China*, p. 107.

The union between the bride and bridegroom may also be represented by the tying of something to each of them separately. Among the Nandi they bind a sprig of *sekutiet* grass (*Vernonia*) on to each other's wrists, after which much feasting and dancing is indulged in.¹ Among the Southern Galla each person present at the wedding ties a knot in the fringe of the bridegroom's toga and in the fringe of the bride's garments; and these knots are never undone.² Among the Basuto the bride's father shows that the bargain is completed by killing the fattest ox he possesses and cutting off the dewlap and dividing it into two strips, one of which is bound round the girl's wrist and the other sent to the bridegroom to be bound round his wrist; this signifies that they are now bound to each other.³

It seems that betrothal and wedding rings, partly at least, serve a similar purpose. Betrothal rings are found among the natives of the Portuguese Zambesi⁴ and the Mikirs of Assam.⁵ Among the Fors of Central Africa, when the bride, in the afternoon of the seventh day after the wedding, meets the bridegroom at the door of her hut, he presents her with a marriage ring, and she makes him in return a present of a love token and a ring.⁶ Among the Khasis it was formerly the custom for the bridegroom to place a ring—usually of silver, but amongst the rich of gold—upon the bride's finger, and for the bride to place a similar ring upon the bridegroom's finger.⁷ Among the Ahoms of Assam, after bride and bridegroom for a few minutes have had their thumbs tied together with a blade of the *cusha* grass, they present each other with a ring.⁸

The wedding ring was in use among the ancient Hindus,⁹

¹ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 62.

² Wakefield, 'Marriage Customs of the Southern Gallas,' in *Folk-Lore*, xviii. 321.

³ Minnie Martin, *Basutoland*, p. 83.

⁴ Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 232.

⁵ Stack, *Mikirs*, p. 17.

⁶ Felkin, 'Notes on the For Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xiii. 228.

⁷ Gurdon, *Khasis*, p. 128.

⁸ Barua, *Notes on the Marriage Systems of the Peoples of Assam*, p. 47 sq.

⁹ Haas, *loc. cit.* p. 299.

and the betrothal ring in ancient Rome, where the man presented it to his *fiancée*.¹ The same custom prevailed in Christian Europe throughout the Middle Ages and later, but was subsequently mostly succeeded by an exchange of rings.² The ring, however, was only slowly introduced in the northern countries, replacing the old Teutonic customs of tying a knot or breaking a gold or silver coin, one-half of which was kept by the woman and the other half by the man;³ and the exchange of rings is not known to have existed in Scandinavia until the end of the seventeenth century.⁴ Various superstitions connected with the marriage ring indicate that it is regarded as a symbolic tie between the couple. To lose it or break it means death or the dissolution of the union or some other misfortune.⁵ In the north-east of Scotland people say that if a woman loses her marriage ring "she will lose her man."⁶ The Jewish marriage ring, which is placed on the forefinger of the bride's right hand, no doubt, originated in mediæval times; it must be made of pure gold and be devoid of gems, its purity being said to be symbolic of conjugal fidelity.⁷

¹ Pliny, *Historia naturalis*, xxxiii. 12. Marquardt, *Das Privatleben der Römer*, p. 41. Sohm, *op. cit.* p. 54 sq.

² Bächtold, *op. cit.* p. 155 sqq.

³ Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* ix. 159 sq. Brand, *op. cit.* pp. 347, 349 sq.

⁴ Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* ix. 163.

⁵ Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg*, i. 29. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, ii. 70. Rääf, *Samlingar och Anteckningar till en beskrifning öfver Ydre härad i Östergötland*, i. 116. Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, p. 122. Sauv  , *Le Folk-Lore des Hautes-Vosges*, p. 99. Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 288. Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 271. Bächtold, *op. cit.* p. 174 sq. In N  rpes, a Swedish-speaking community in Finland, it is believed that if the wedding ring is too small there will be misfortune (Tegengren, 'Magi och vidskepelse, h  nforande sig till trolovning, br  llop o.s.v.,' in *Hembygden*, iii. 41).

⁶ Ro  ie, 'Stray Notes on the Folk-Lore of Aberdeenshire and North-East of Scotland,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxv. 349.

⁷ Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, pp. 160, 162. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 183 sq.

The union between the couple may also be strengthened by certain ceremonies in which an article of dress belonging to or presented by one of the partners is worn by the other. The following practices are found in different parts of Morocco. In Andjra the bridegroom sends his betrothed a new *háyěk*—a long, rectangular, and seamless piece of white woollen cloth, worn without fastenings by men and women—and while she is dressed in it a married woman, who is her husband's first and only wife and much beloved by him, plaits its fringe; and this *háyěk*, and also other clothes, which have been presented to the young man by his *fiancée*, are worn by him when he proceeds to his house to meet the bride.¹ Among the Ath Ubáḥthi, after the marriage has been consummated, the belt of the bride is tied round the bridegroom's *háyěk* over the crown of his head, where it is left as long as the bride remains ungirdled;² and in Fez the bride gives him two handkerchiefs, one of which he ties round his waist, and a cord, which she threads through his trousers.³ In the Híáina, at a feast preliminary to the wedding, the bridegroom has on his feet a pair of slippers bought with money out of the bride's share of the dowry;⁴ and on the fortieth day after her arrival the young wife takes off her husband's slippers, puts them over her own, and slips a new pair on his feet, which is supposed to make the couple friendly to one another and prevent divorce.⁵ Similar superstitions may also to some extent underlie the frequent practice of the *fiancé* giving a present to his betrothed or the exchange of presents between them. In European folk-custom the present of a handkerchief plays a prominent part.⁶

The union between the parties is sometimes symbolised, or effected, by means of blood. In some parts of Brittany the bride makes an incision under the left breast immediately the ceremony in church is over, and the bridegroom then

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 127, 142, 143, 269, 261, 354.

² *Ibid.* pp. 249, 260, 354.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 226, 227, 260, 354.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 102, 260, 354.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 305, 354.

⁶ See Bächtold, *op. cit.* i. 123 sqq.; Brand, *op. cit.* p. 348 sq.

applies his lips and sucks a drop of her blood.¹ This closely resembles certain marriage ceremonies practised in India. Among the Kewats of Bihar a tiny scratch is made on the little finger of the bridegroom's right hand and of the bride's left; blood is drawn from each and mingled with a dish of boiled rice and milk, and either party then eats the food containing the other's blood.² It is reported that among the Dharhis and Dosadhs of Monghyr "the fingers are lanced by a barber, and the blood is soaked in red cotton wool, which is enclosed in *pan*. The bride chews the *pan* containing the bridegroom's blood, and the bridegroom that containing the bride's blood. A similar custom prevails among the Gulgulias; only in their case the wool which absorbs the blood is used to dye the feet of the bridegroom and the bride."³ Among the Haris⁴ and Birhors⁵ of Bengal a bride and bridegroom are smeared with each other's blood, which has been extracted from their fingers. In Singbhúm "they touch and mark each other with blood as a sign that they have become one flesh."⁶ It has been suggested, or even taken for granted, that the custom, prevalent in several aboriginal tribes of India, of the bridegroom marking the bride, or the bride and bridegroom marking each other, with red lead⁷ is a later transformation of the custom of marking with blood;⁸ but although this

¹ Conybeare, 'A Brittany Marriage Custom,' in *Folk-Lore*, xviii. 448.

² Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal. Ethnographic Glossary*, i. 456.

³ O'Malley, *Census of India, 1911*, v. (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim) Report, p. 320 sq. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 320.

⁵ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 220. Risley, *op. cit.* i. 138.

⁶ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 319.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 131, 160, 216, 220, 252, 273, 317, 319, 231. Risley, *op. cit. passim*. Shaw, 'On the Inhabitants of the Hills near Rájamahall,' in *Asiatick Researches*, iv. 71. Dehon, 'Religion and Customs of the Uraons,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 163. Bradley-Birt, *Chota Nagpore*, p. 49.

⁸ Dalton, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 319. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 334 sqq. Crooke, 'Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 241 sq. O'Malley, *op. cit.* p. 320. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iv. 108.

may be the case, we can hardly be positive that it is so, considering how often, in India as well as elsewhere, the red colour is used in marriage rites in circumstances which do not allow us to presume that the use of it is the survival of an earlier practice of using human blood.¹

Not infrequently animal blood is employed in marriage rites. Among the Wadders, Dravidian earthworkers of South India, a fowl is sacrificed at the threshold of the bride's room, and the foreheads of the couple are marked with its blood;² and among the Kayans of Borneo a cock and a hen are slaughtered, their blood is received in a cup, and the bride and bridegroom are marked with it from hand to foot.³ Dr. Hartland's conclusion that in these cases the blood of a fowl takes the place of that of the parties⁴ does not seem to me fully justified. Among the Orang Mamaq of Sumatra, when bride and bridegroom are sitting on the ground with their feet touching each other, the chief

¹ On the use of red in wedding rites see Zachariae, 'Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xvii. 230 sqq.; Russell, *op. cit.* iv. 107; Mary Billington, *Woman in India*, p. 74; Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 335 sq.; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 186 sq.; *Idem*, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 47 sqq.; Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im neuen*, p. 89 sq.; Sakellarios, *Die Sitten und Gebräuche der Hochzeit bei den Neugriechen*, p. 17; Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 16, 42, 43, 73, 91, 100, 113, 124, 130-134, 148 (Slavs); Volkov, 'Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine,' in *L'Anthropologie*, iii. 545; Franzisci, *Cultur-Studien über Volksleben, Sitten und Bräuche in Kärnten*, pp. 9, 67; Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, p. 285; Aina Wadström, 'Frieri- och bröllopsbruk från Dagsmark i Lappfjärd' (Finland), in *Hembygden*, ii. 83; Mattans, 'Bröllopsseder i Korsnäs' (Finland), *ibid.* vi. 137; Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, i. 73, 78, 80, 86 sq.; Gray, *China*, i. 200-202, 204 sq.; Stewart Lockhart, 'Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus,' in *Folk-Lore*, i. 487, 489; Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 148, 284, 343; Tessmann, *Die Pangwè*, ii. 261; Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, ii. 679; Thurnwald, *Forschungen auf den Salomo-Inseln*, iii. 13 (natives of Buin); Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, vol. iv. pt. i. 102 (Loritja). See also *infra*, ii. 466 sq.

² Fawcett, 'On Some of the Earliest existing Races of the Plains of South India,' in *Folk-Lore*, v. 24.

³ 'Memoirs of Malays,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, ii. 359.

⁴ Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 343.

who officiates on the occasion kills a cock and then a hen over their legs, which become sprinkled with the blood.¹ Among the Reindeer Chukchee the bride and bridegroom are anointed with the blood of a sacrificial reindeer, which has been killed for this purpose ; this, Dr. Bogoras says, is the most important part of their marriage rite and is " obviously intended to strengthen marriage-ties."² So, too, among the Yukaghir a reindeer is killed, by the father of the bride, and while the latter is dressing for the journey to the bridegroom's place, her mother and the match-maker's wife smear her joints with the fresh blood. " Thus," they say, " is a child to be washed before it is sent away from the house to live with strangers."³ As I have shown elsewhere, blood is used at weddings as a prophylactic or means of purification.⁴

An extremely frequent and widespread marriage rite is the eating together of bride and bridegroom. It has been found among some American tribes. Among the Navaho the marriage ceremony merely consisted in eating maize pudding from the same platter ;⁵ and among the Pawnee the girl takes a dish containing food, which she places before the bridegroom, they both eat, and she is now his wife.⁶ In Morocco it is a very common custom that the pair partake of some food together before they have intercourse. Sometimes the bridegroom eats first and then puts some food into the bride's mouth,⁷ and sometimes, among the Berbers of Southern Morocco, they both push a little food into each other's mouths. In Aglu, for instance, the woman who attends the bride brings a dish of meat, a dish of *sëksu*, and a third dish containing bread, honey, and salt butter, and from each of these dishes the bridegroom pushes a little food three times into the mouth of the bride ;

¹ Hagen, *op. cit.* p. 165.

² Bogoras, *Chukchee*, p. 595 sq.

³ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 94.

⁴ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 210, 219, 262, 263, 294, 295, 305, 327.

⁵ Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iii. 105.

⁶ Grinnell, *Story of the Indian*, p. 46.

⁷ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 231.

she bashfully tries to prevent it, but then does the same to him.¹ Among the Niam-Niam women eat with their husbands at the marriage ceremony but on no other occasion.² Among the Sakalava of Madagascar "the bride and bridegroom receive their food served up on one dish, from which they take alternate mouthfuls to signify their union and affection."³ The rite of eating together has also been found among other natives of the same island,⁴ and in Mangaia of the Hervey Group,⁵ Fiji,⁶ Lepers' Island of the New Hebrides,⁷ and various tribes of New Guinea.⁸ In the Malay Archipelago,⁹ the Malay Peninsula,¹⁰ and South-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 251. See *ibid.* p. 258 sq. and Index, s.v. 'Meal or meals, bride and bridegroom having a common.'

² Schweinfurth, *Im Herzen von Afrika*, ii. 28.

³ Walen, 'Sakalava,' in *Antananarivo Annual*, no. viii. 1884, p. 53.

⁴ Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 251 (Hovas). Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. 182 (Merina).

⁵ Gill, 'Report on Mangaia (Hervey Islands),' in *Report of the Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, p. 330.

⁶ Williams and Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 146.

⁷ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 242.

⁸ Chalmers, 'Report on New Guinea. Toaripi and Koiari Tribes,' in *Report of the Second Meeting of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science*, pp. 314, 319. Guise, 'Tribes inhabiting the Mouth of the Wanigela River,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 209. van Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* viii. 181; Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 102 sq. (Nufors of Geelvink Bay). Krieger, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 394. v. Rosenberg, *Der malayische Archipel*, p. 455.

⁹ Wilken, 'Plechtigeden en gebruiken bij verlovningen en huwelijken bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel,' in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, ser. v. vol. iv. p. 393 sqq. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 411 sqq. Crawley, *Mystic Rose*, p. 379 sqq. Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 356. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, p. 280.

¹⁰ Skeat and Blagden, *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, ii. 57, 77. Martin, *Die Inlandstämme der Malayischen Halbinsel*, p. 868. Bourien, 'On the Wild Tribes of the Interior of the Malay Peninsula,' in *Trans. Ethn. Soc. London*, N.S. vol. iii. 82 (Mantras). Logan, 'Orang Binua of Johore,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, i. 270. Low, 'Karean Tribes,' *ibid.* iv. 431 (Sakai, &c.).

Eastern Asia and India in general,¹ it is an extremely prevalent custom that bride and bridegroom eat together from the same dish. In Southern Mindanao² and among the Negritos of Zambales³ they feed each other with rice, and the same is done at Malay weddings elsewhere.⁴ Among the Chukmas the bride has to place cooked rice and a prepared betelnut in the mouth of the bridegroom, and he has to do the same to her.⁵ Among the Gonds and Korkús the marriage rites consist in part of "eating together, tying the garments together, dancing together round a pole, being half-drowned together by a douche of water, and the interchange of rings,—all of which may be supposed to symbolise the union of the parties."⁶ Among Hindus of every rank and caste it is the custom for bride and bridegroom to take food together from the same leaf or the same plate.⁷ In ancient India the newly-married couple had to offer a burnt oblation of a pancake or a mess of boiled rice on the wedding night, and they partook together of that dish and of some liquid food besides.⁸ In ancient Greece they partook together of a sesamum-cake.⁹ The cake made of the old Italian grain called *far*, from which the patrician marriage in ancient Rome received its name of *confarreatio*, was offered to Jupiter Farreus and partaken of by bride and bridegroom

¹ Fielding Hall, *op. cit.* p. 188 (Burmese). Woodthorpe, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxvi. 22 (Shans). Barua, *op. cit.* p. 54 (Miris) Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 119 sq. (Magh tribes of Chittagong). Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 216 (Santals). Hayavadana Rao, 'Irulans of the Gingee Hills,' in *Anthropos*, vi. 811. Crooke, 'Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 241. *Idem*, *Things Indian*, p. 319.

² Cole, 'Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' in *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Series*, xii. 102, 144, 192.

³ Reed, *op. cit.* p. 58.

⁴ Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 383.

⁵ Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 97.

⁶ Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, p. 149.

⁷ Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 111 sq. Dubois, *Description of the Character, Manners, and Customs of the People of India*, p. 107. Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv. (Punjab) Report, p. 276.

⁸ *Grihya-Sûtras*, ii. 49. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeits-rituell*, p. 79 sq. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 330.

⁹ Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 107.

in the presence of witnesses.¹ At the present day the custom of eating together—usually from the same plate or dish, or of the same loaf of bread, or with the same spoon—at the betrothal or, more often, at the wedding, is found in many parts of Europe.² Yet in spite of its occurrence among so many peoples of the Indo-European race we cannot be certain that it was a primitive Indo-European custom. As Winternitz points out, it is possible that it originated among different branches of that race independently. "It would be different," he says, "if we found exactly the same kind of dish—say, the wedding-cake—used among all the different Indo-European peoples, or if the ceremony had its fixed place in the marriage ritual, like the joining of hands, and some other customs."³

As for the meaning of the rite in question, there can be no doubt that it was originally something more than a mere symbol. In Wärmeland, in Sweden, it was a popular belief that if a girl and a youth ate off one morsel, they would fall in love with each other.⁴ In Germany it is believed that if the couple eat the "morning soup" with the same spoon, they will have a peaceful married life.⁵ In an Arabic-speaking

¹ Gaius, *Institutionum juris civilis commentarii*, i. 112. Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 106 sqq. Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 50. De-Marchi, *La religione nella vita domestica*, p. 155 sqq. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, p. 136.

² Placucci, *Usi e pregiudizj dei contadini della Romagna*, pp. 52, 58. Bustico, 'Il matrimonio nel Bellunese,' in Provenzal, *Usanze e feste del popolo italiano*, p. 25. Bresciani, *Dei costumi dell' isola di Sardegna*, ii. 153. Laisnel de la Salle, *Croyances et légendes du centre de la France*, ii. 46. de Nore, *Coutumes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France*, p. 9. Bächtold, *op. cit.* i. 105 (Switzerland). Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, §560, p. 369; Sartori, *Sitte und Brauch*, i. 73 sq. (Germany). Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 112; Nicolovius (Lovén), *op. cit.* p. 133 (Sweden). Thiers, *Traité des superstitions qui regardent les sacremens*, iv. 473 (Russia). Franzisci, *op. cit.* p. 69. (Slovenes of Carinthia). Ida von Düringsfeld and von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Hochzeitsbuch*, p. 81 (Serbia). v. Schroeder, *Die Hochzeitsgebräuche der Esten*, p. 82. Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 94, 137, 176, 272 sq. (various Ugro-Finnic peoples in Europe).

³ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 281.

⁴ Fernow, *Beskrifning öfver Wärmeland*, p. 254.

⁵ Wuttke, *op. cit.* §560, p. 369. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 73 sq.

mountain tribe in Morocco, the Tsūl, it is the custom for bride and bridegroom to eat together the liver of the sheep which was slaughtered for the occasion when the bridegroom was for the first time painted with henna, for the purpose, I was told, "of making them dear to one another."¹ But the rite of eating together may also lay a mutual constraint on the couple. All over Morocco a common meal is a frequent form of 'ahd, or covenant, which ultimately derives its binding force from the idea that the parties transfer conditional curses to one another by a material medium—in this case the food—as appears from the usual saying that the food will repay him who breaks the contract.² To the same class of ceremonies belongs in part the bride's and bridegroom's partaking of food in common: it is a means of sealing their union by an act which has naturally been suggested by one of the most prominent features of married life, the husband's sharing of food with his wife. At the same time the common meal may serve a prophylactic purpose by bringing bride and bridegroom nearer each other previously to the great event by which the union is completed.³ And in certain cases some particular effect is obviously expected from the kind of food partaken of; as when in modern Greece the young man's mother makes the couple eat honey from the same vessel that their marriage shall be sweet,⁴ and the Livonians obliged them to eat the testicles of a goat or a boar with the avowed intention of rendering the pair prolific.⁵

Besides, and sometimes combined with, the rite of eating together there is the rite of drinking together. Among the Maynas of the Upper Marañon bride and bridegroom sealed their union by drinking from the same bowl.⁶

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 101.

² *Idem*, 'L-'*dr*, or the Transference of Conditional Curses in Morocco,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 373 sq.

³ See *Idem*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 259.

⁴ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 95.

⁵ Meletius, *De religione et sacrificiis veterum Borussorum epistola*, p. D 3. Cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 262 sq. n. 4.

⁶ Chantre y Herrera, *Historia de las Misiones de la Compañía de Jesús en el Marañón español*, p. 71.

Among some Brazilian Indians they drink brandy together.¹ In Humphrey's Island the priest gave the man a cocoa-nut, and he, after sipping the milk, gave it to the woman, who did the same.² Among the Mandaya of Mindanao the marriage ceremony consists not merely of the young couple feeding each other with rice, but of their drinking from a common cup as well.³ Among the Hos⁴ and Lepchas⁵ the bride and bridegroom drink beer together or out of the same cup. Among the Jansens, one of the Kuki tribes, "a glass of liquor is handed to the husband, who drinks half, and gives the rest to his wife."⁶ Among the Tipperahs of the Chittagong Hills, again, "the girl's mother pours out a glass of liquor and gives it to her daughter, who goes and sits on her lover's knee, drinks half and gives him the other half; they afterwards crook together their little fingers."⁷ In Annam the bride and bridegroom exchange cups and then put them back one on the other.⁸ In China it was the ancient custom for bride and bridegroom to eat together of the same sacrificed animal, and to drink out of cups made of the two halves of the same melon, the bride drinking from the bridegroom's half and he from hers; they thereby showed, according to the 'Lî Ki,' "that they now formed one body, were of equal rank and pledged to mutual affection."⁹ At present, in China, the couple, before the consummation of the marriage, drink wine or a mixture of wine and honey alternately from two goblets, which are sometimes tied together by a red string, the bridegroom, after having sipped from his goblet, handing it over to the bride, and the bride handing hers over to her husband, and so repeatedly.¹⁰ So, too, in Japan they

¹ v. Eschwege, *Journal von Brasilien*, i. 96.

² Turner, *Samoa*, p. 276. ³ Cole, *loc. cit.* p. 192. Cf. *ibid.* p. 102.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 193. ⁵ Risley, *op. cit.* ii. 8.

⁶ Soppitt, *Short Account of the Kuki-Lushai Tribes*, p. 17.

⁷ Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 202.

⁸ Dumoutier, quoted by Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 330.

⁹ *Lî Kî*, ix. 3. 11; xli. 2. Legge, in *Sacred Books of the East*, xxviii. 429 n. 3.

¹⁰ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 86 sqq. Arendt, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 491. Leong and Tao, *op. cit.* p. 107.

drink wine together, exchanging cups nine times; this constitutes the entire ceremony, after which the couple are introduced to relatives and friends at a wedding dinner.¹ The rite of drinking together out of the same vessel is found in Europe from Italy to Norway, from Brittany to Russia, and there are traces of it in Scotland too.² It was even adopted into the rites of the Greek Church in Russia, where the priest blesses a small silver ladle, called the Common Cup, which contains wine mingled with water, and then holds it to the lips of the pair, who sip it alternately each three times, "as a type that the husband and wife must share everything in joy or grief."³ The custom of drinking together forms part of the nuptial ceremony among the Jews of all countries.⁴

That this rite, like that of eating together, is in the first place a symbol of, or a means of strengthening, the union of the couple, is beyond a doubt; but, like the latter rite, it may at the same time serve some other purpose. In Humphrey's Island the man's sister took a second cocoa-nut, opened a hole in it, and threw it up to the supposed god above them, "and prayed as the priest had just done before that the woman might be prolific."⁵ In India, at least, a cocoa-nut is a "symbol of fertility," and all through Upper India it is kept in shrines and presented by the priest to women who desire children.⁶

¹ Nakajima, 'Marriage (Japanese and Korean),' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 460. Kùchler, 'Marriage in Japan,' in *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, xiii. 115.

² v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 83 sq. Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 280 sq. Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 347 sqq. Bächtold, *op. cit.* i. 96 sqq. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 74. Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 112; Hammarstedt, 'Kvarlevor av en Frös-ritual i en svensk bröllopslek,' in *Festskrift til H. F. Feilberg*, p. 504 (Scandinavia). Bresciani, *Dei costumi dell' isola di Sardegna*, ii. 153. Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* pp. 94, 137, 176, 272 sq. (Ugro-Finnic peoples).

³ Romanoff, *Rites of the Greek Church*, p. 204. Goar, *Euchologion sive Rituale Græcorum*, pp. 394, 396. Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 473.

⁴ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 281. Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 208. Rosenau, *op. cit.* p. 160 sqq. See *infra*, ii. 461 sq.

⁵ Turner, *op. cit.* p. 276.

⁶ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 227; ii. 106.

At Bogadjim, in New Guinea, the bridegroom splits a betel-nut into two pieces, one of which is then chewed by himself and the other by the bride.¹ The mountaineers of the Gazelle Peninsula in New Britain regard a man and a woman as husband and wife only after they have exchanged betel-nuts; this is the case even when the woman has been carried off by force.² The exchange or partaking together of betel is also a marriage rite in various islands of the Malay Archipelago.³ Among the Ahoms of Assam, after the couple have presented a pinch of food to each other's lips and have washed their hands, the bridegroom offers a betel-nut to the bride, who accepts it and reciprocates the offer; they are then tied together by their thumbs with a blade of the *cusha* grass.⁴ Among the Rábhás, living in the same country, the essential features of the marriage ceremony are, first, the exchange of betel-leaves and areca-nuts, and, secondly, the formal sacrifice of a cock and hen, the latter being made into a curry of which the bride and bridegroom partake together.⁵ Among the Irulans of the Gingee Hills the would-be husband must smoke a tobacco cheroot and then hand it over to the bride, who should smoke it a little and pass it back to him; then comes the dinner, which the parties must take out of a common dish, and these things done, the marriage is completed and consummation takes place immediately.⁶ Among the Ahom Chutiyas bride and bridegroom are made formally to inhale the smell of turmeric together, and this is followed by the tying of the nuptial knot.⁷ To the same class of rites belongs the following one, which is practised by the Winamwanga and Wiwa in East Africa:—The headman who officiates at a wedding "takes two short bits of stick, and gives one to the bridegroom and one to the bride. He puts a stick into each

¹ Hagen, *Unter den Papua's*, p. 243. See also Guise, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 209 (tribes inhabiting the mouth of the Wanigela River in New Guinea).

² Burger, *Die Küsten- und Bergvölker der Gazellehalbinsel*, p. 55.

³ Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 384.

⁴ Barua, *op. cit.* p. 47.

⁵ Endle, *Kacháris*, p. 85.

⁶ Hayavadana Rao, in *Anthropos*, vi. 811.

⁷ Endle, *op. cit.* p. 95.

of their mouths. They then exchange these sticks, the bridegroom putting the bride's in his mouth, and the bride the bridegroom's in hers."¹

There are also ceremonies of a different nature which are supposed to ensure the durability of the marriage. In Boeotia, on reaching the bridegroom's house, the axle of the car—on which he fetched the bride was burnt to symbolise, or to effect, the irreversibility of the step taken.² Among the Manchus, when the bride comes out of the chair in which she has been carried to the bridegroom's house, she has to step over a miniature saddle, as a sign that she will never marry a second husband, in accordance with the saying:—"Just as a good horse will not carry two saddles, a chaste maiden will not marry two husbands."³ The Merinā of Madagascar believe that if the bride's parents do not accompany her to the bridegroom's house as evidence of their complete consent to her marriage, the couple will not long remain together.⁴ In some parts of Morocco the person who paints the bride with henna must be a married woman who has been married only once, as it is believed that if she had been divorced by a former husband the same thing would also happen to the bride.⁵ In the same country the bride is frequently pelted with stones when she leaves her parents' old home, and one explanation given of this custom was that it makes the husband love his wife and prevents his sending her back to her parents; but it was also said to rid her of evil, or to cause her to take her evil with her or to remove all the evil from the village.⁶ Among the Ait Waráin, a Berber tribe in the neighbourhood of Fez, when the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's place, his mother takes the bride's kerchief and ties it very firmly on the head of a donkey, and it is believed that if

¹ Chisholm, 'Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Winamwanga and Wiwa,' in *Jour. African Soc.* ix. 382.

² Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 29.

³ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 487 sq.

⁴ Grandidier, *op. cit.* ii. 183.

⁵ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 141, 149, 150, 161, 353.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 169-171, 173, 176, 177, 179, 180, 190, 323, 326, 353, 357.

it remains there till the following morning, it is a sign that the wife, too, will remain with her husband ;¹ but it is more than probable that the rite was originally meant to be, not a mere act of divination, but a means of strengthening the marriage tie. In a neighbouring Berber tribe, when the bride after her arrival is sitting on a mat in the bridegroom's tent, a bachelor lifts up one of the vertical tent-poles and puts it into her lap, in order that she shall remain in her new home and support it by becoming a mother of sons, as the pole supports the tent.²

There are various rites that are intended to ensure or facilitate the consummation of the marriage. Among the Aith Yúsi, a Berber tribe south of Fez, after the bride has been painted with henna, an egg enveloped in a kerchief is tied round her forehead ; it is then broken by the woman who painted her, and is left there till she is washed. This is done in order that her hymen shall be broken by her husband as easily as was the egg. Next morning she is washed with water containing some henna, while seated on a weaving-stool and a pack-saddle—on the former because when a little girl she was, in accordance with the customs of her tribe, taken three times underneath the two upper cross-bars of a weaving-stool after the web was ready, in order that no man should be able to destroy her virginity, and the magical effect of this procedure must naturally be cancelled before her wedding.³ In the same tribe, when the bride is taken to her new home on the back of a mare, she holds in front of her a cane, with or without a flag, which is fired at by the men of the procession ; they want to blow it to pieces so that the bridegroom shall be able to break the hymen of his bride that night, but she makes some efforts to prevent it by waving the cane to and fro.⁴ In another Berber tribe, in the Rîf, the bridegroom's mother places a mug upside down with a so-called *dîdli* (an ornament consisting of dollar or half-dollar pieces threaded on a string of horsehair and worn by women round

¹ *Ibid.* p. 208 sq. ² *Ibid.* pp. 202, 349 sq. ³ *Ibid.* p. 151 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 179. For a similar ceremony in a neighbouring tribe see *ibid.* p. 177.

the forehead) and an egg on the top of it, and the bridegroom then breaks both the mug and the egg with a kick, as I was told, "so as to destroy the evil."¹ It is probable that "the evil" in this case meant any possible impediment to the consummation of the marriage. There is much fear in this part of Northern Africa of magic obstacles to sexual intercourse.²

The ceremonial breaking of eggs at weddings is found in other countries than Morocco. In a book on the 'Customs and Manners of the Persians' we read:—"Dadeh Bazm Ará says, the bride should take a hen's egg in her hand, and on getting up throw it against the wall to break it, keeping her face towards the Kibleh, or in the direction of Mecca. Kulsúm Naneh thinks that a useless proceeding; and recommends a needle to be presented to her on her marriage."³ Among the Tenggerese in East Java the bridegroom on the last day of the wedding breaks an egg which has been placed on a stone, after which the bride smears her feet with its contents.⁴ Among the Sundanese in West Java a hen's egg is placed before the door of the newly wedded pair; which appears to imply a similar rite of breaking it.⁵ In Bali an egg and a cocoa-nut are offered to the bride and bridegroom, who throw them on the ground so that they break, and then disperse the pieces in different directions as offerings to the *kalas*, or spirits.⁶ In France, in the seventeenth century, a bride, in order to be happy in her marriage, trod upon and broke an egg when she entered her new home on the wedding day.⁷ At Avola, in Sicily, on the bride's arrival at her new home, the bridegroom breaks two eggs with his foot.⁸ The use of eggs in marriage rites may, as we shall see, serve different purposes; but when the breaking of an egg plays a prominent part in the rite and the

¹ *Ibid.* p. 131.

² See Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du nord*, p. 288 sqq.; Mouliérès, *Le Maroc inconnu*, pp. 53, 499 sqq.

³ *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, trans. by James Atkinson, p. 71.

⁴ Domis, *De Residentie Passoeroeang op het eiland Java*, p. 155.

⁵ Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 58.

⁶ Tonkes, *Volkskunde von Bali*, p. 30. ⁷ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 471.

⁸ Pitre, *Usi e costumi, credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano*, ii. 75.

marriage is consummated shortly after, there is some reason to suspect that the original intention of the ceremony was to ensure the defloration of the bride, though the idea of promoting her fertility or other ideas¹ may very well have been combined with it.

Earthenware vessels or objects of glass are often ceremonially broken at weddings both in Morocco and elsewhere.² Thus in Andjra, after the bridegroom has been painted with henna, his best-man takes the bowl containing the rest of the henna-mixture, lifts it on his head, and begins to dance before the bridegroom. After a while he hands the bowl to another bachelor, who does the same; and thus all the bachelors present dance in turn with the bowl on their heads till the last one lets it drop down on the ground and break, which is supposed to remove the *bas*, or evil.³ In another tribe the girl who painted the bridegroom with henna puts the bowl on her head and dances with it, till at last she throws it on the ground so that it breaks, and thereby, it is thought, rids the bridegroom of his *bas*.⁴ Among the Bogos of North-Eastern Africa the bridegroom, before he has intercourse with the bride, breaks an earthenware pot.⁵ In Armenia a plate is offered to the bridegroom, who throws it on the ground and tramples it to pieces.⁶ At Bajār, when the marriage contract had been made, it was the custom for the guests to throw the bottles of rose-water which they had brought with them against the wall.⁷

The breaking of an earthenware vessel is a marriage ceremony among the Gypsies in Turkey, Moldavia, Transylvania, Spain, and Germany.⁸ The Basque Gypsies con-

¹ Cf. Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 194, 195, 218.

² For European weddings cf. v. Schröder, *op. cit.* p. 84 *sqq.*

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 98 *sq.* ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 101.

⁵ Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 63.

⁶ Bodenstedt, quoted by Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei*, p. 119.

⁷ Fraenkel, 'Aus orientalischen Quellen,' in *Mitteil. d. Schlesischen Gesellsch. f. Volkskunde*, xix. 28.

⁸ Thompson, 'Ceremonial Customs of the British Gypsies,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv. 338.

tracted their marriages by throwing a jar towards the sun and counting the fragments.¹ In Sardinia it is the custom, while a marriage procession is passing, to cast on it grain from windows and doors and then to throw on the pavement the vessels in which the grain was kept so that they break, "in order to disperse every evil augury."² In the Sette Comuni "it is always necessary to break something at the nuptial banquet."³ In Upper Brittany, "pour que le mariage soit chanceux, il faut qu'il y ait pendant la noce quelque objet cassé. S'il n'y a rien eu de cassé par accident, on en casse un exprès."⁴ In the Ardennes a glass is broken "so that the couple shall have no quarrel."⁵

In Argyllshire, "if a glass is accidentally broken during a marriage feast, it foretells misfortune to the bridal pair, but, when the health of bride and bridegroom is drunk, someone must throw a glass over their shoulder and break it 'for luck.'"⁶ At Newburgh, after the marriage ceremony and just as the newly-married couple are leaving the bride's house, a plate containing salt is at some marriages stealthily broken over the head of the bridegroom.⁷ At Guisborough in Cleveland the bridegroom took the plate which, with a small cake upon it, had been presented to the bride on the arrival at the door of her home, and threw it over his left shoulder, "their hope of future happiness depending upon it being broken on falling to the ground."⁸

In the Saalfeld country, after the wedding, one of the bridesmaids hurries home first, gets beer or brandy, and offers a glass to the bridegroom, who empties it and tosses it

¹ Planté, *Une race maudite*, reviewed in *Journal of the Gypsy Lore Society*, N.S. iv. 297.

² Faggiani, 'Feste ed usanze della Sardegna,' in Provenzal, *op. cit.* p. 232.

³ Frescura, 'Fra i Cimbri dei Sette Comuni Vicentini,' in *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, xvii. 46.

⁴ Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, p. 136.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 136.

⁶ Minnie Cartwright, 'Scraps of Scottish Folklore,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxi. 89.

⁷ Simpkins, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vii. Fife, p. 163.

⁸ Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. North Riding of Yorkshire, p. 295.

behind his back. If the glass breaks, it is good ; if not, not.¹ At the German *Polterabend*—which is celebrated on the eve of the wedding day—all sorts of old pottery are broken outside the bride's house, and the North Germans say, "The more shards the more luck."² In the Upper Palatinate, on the same night, a window is broken in her house, and many shards are said to indicate wealth.³

Among the Slovaks, while the bride and bridegroom are in bed, the guests sing and make noise outside their room, and an old pot is thrown at the door.⁴ Among the Little Russians the bride's mother offers to the bridegroom a bowl of water ; he sips from it a few drops and then throws it over his shoulder, and if it breaks the marriage will be blessed with children.⁵ Or she offers him a cup containing oats and water, and when he throws it over his shoulder his best-man, who is standing behind him, tries to break it ; in case he succeeds, the marriage will be happy.⁶ Among some Slovenes, when the bridegroom and his friends have come to fetch the bride, she at last appears, holding in the hand a beaker of wine covered with a red kerchief. She offers him the kerchief, and is then taken three times round the bridegroom. She drinks a little of the wine and gives him the beaker, which he empties at once and throws at the wall ; and it is considered a great shame for him if it does not break.⁷

In his description of Jewish marriages in the seventeenth century, Addison states that in many places "the young Men who wait upon the Bridegroom, at the hearing of the Husband giving the *Missal Tob*, or wishing happiness to his Wife, break certain small Earthen Pots which for that purpose they hold in their hands. And thereby signifie their good wishes of prosperity and health to the New-married Couple."⁸ In a narrative of a fifteenth century

¹ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. 1797.

² Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 72. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 60. Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434.⁹

³ Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 74.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 107.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 37.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁸ Addison, *Present State of the Jews*, p. 51.

Jewish wedding we are told that the Rabbi, at the end of the marriage ceremony, passed wine to the bridegroom and then to the bride. "He retained the glass in his hand while they sipped its contents, but he now gave it to the bridegroom, who turned round, faced the north, and threw the glass at the wall, breaking it. Thereupon the assembled company rushed at the bridegroom, uttering expressions of joy, and conveyed him—before the bride—to the wedding-house."¹ Up to the present day the breaking of a glass has remained one of the most characteristic features of Jewish weddings; the bridegroom breaks it with his foot, or it is broken by the Rabbi.² Various fanciful explanations have been suggested for this ceremony, but its true meaning, as I understand it, has to my knowledge never been recognised. The Jews of Morocco have another custom which, partly, belongs to the same class of rites: a fortnight before the nuptial ceremony, on a Thursday, a pot filled with corn is broken at the door of the bridal chamber "with the symbolical meaning that the bride shall be fruitful."³

Many of the facts just quoted strongly suggest that both this and other rites consisting in the breaking of some fragile object was intended to ensure the consummation of the marriage, which in Europe,⁴ as elsewhere, has been supposed to be impeded by malign magic influences. That this intention has generally been more or less disguised is not to be wondered at considering the nature of the subject. But among some of the Southern Slavs it is stated with a frankness which leaves no room for doubt. Among the

¹ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 208.

² *Ibid.* pp. 187, 188, 208 n. 2. Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden*, p. 144 sq. Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, p. 162 sq. Jansen, 'Mitteilungen über die Juden in Marroko,' in *Globus*, lxxi. 360.

³ Jansen, in *Globus*, lxxi. 359.

⁴ Sandys, *Relation of a Journey*, p. 7 (Zante). Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 42; Volkov, 'Rites et usages nuptiaux en Ukraine,' in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 579 sqq. (Little Russians and other peoples). Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 322; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 1127 (Germany). Dalyell, *op. cit.* pp. 302, 306 sq. (Scotland). Frazer, *Taboo*, p. 299 sq. In the Atharva-Veda (vi. 138, p. 108 sq.) there is a charm for depriving a man of his virility.

Serbs of Syrmia the head of the family, about midnight, conducts the bride into the bridegroom's room and closes the door. "He now takes a glass filled with wine, drinks its contents to the health of the young couple, and throws it then at the door so that it is shattered to pieces; this is regarded as a symbol of the soon happening loss of virginity." While the bride and bridegroom are together, the guests are making an uproar, breaking glasses and pots, and they are also trying to break an egg which has been put into a sack, "as a sign of the marriage having been consummated."¹

Among various peoples a staff or rod or tree is broken, and it is reasonable to suppose that the object of this ceremony is the same as the Berber custom of blowing to pieces a cane. The last part of the marriage ceremony of the Zulus, called *ukuhlambisa*, is described as follows:—"The bride comes in with her party of girls, carrying in her hand a spear, which, by the way, she has carried all the time. One girl bears a dish of water and a calabash, and another some beads. Then coming up, singing and dancing, the bride throws the water over her husband. She also sprinkles her brother and sister in law, striking the latter as a symbol that from that time she assumes authority over the girls in her husband's household. After this is done she breaks the staff of the spear, and makes a run for the gate of the kraal, as a last effort to get away. If she is not stopped by a young man appointed for the purpose, it is a great disgrace, and the husband has to pay a cow to get her back. The marriage rites are then finished. No widow, remarried, breaks the staff of the spear."² In a somewhat similar ceremony among the Matabele the bride crushes the calabash brought by her, "and the marriage is sealed."³ Among the Yakut,⁴ when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's hut, the entrance is barred by two thin dry rods held by two girls; the bride breaks them against her breast and, after picking up the pieces, lights them on the hearth, "to

¹ Rajacsich, *Das Leben, die Sitten und Gebräuche, der im Kaiserthume Oesterreich lebenden Südslaven*, p. 161.

² Tyler, *Forty Years among the Zulus*, p. 203 sq.

³ Decle, *op. cit.* p. 158 sq. See *infra*, ii. 509.

⁴ Shklovsky, *In Far North-East Siberia*, p. 52 sq.

show—it is said—that the Spirit of Fire now has another priestess.” In the island of Skarpanto (Carpathos), halfway between Rhodes and Crete, when the bridegroom goes to the bride’s house on the wedding morning, her mother places on the threshold a rug or blanket folded, with a stick resting on one of the corners. The bridegroom advances his right foot, breaks the stick, and passes in; this is said to symbolise the future submission of the wife.¹ In certain parts of Anjou, “lorsque le cortège revient de l’église, on trouve un arbre planté la veille au centre d’une roue recouverte de terre. On invite tous les jeunes gens, marié et garçons d’honneur en tête, à venir essayer de l’arracher pour montrer leur vigueur; après de vains efforts, on le brise en le tordant et on danse autour du tronçon.”² In Esthonia, at the betrothal feast, the bridegroom and the bride eat soup with the same spoon. The bride then throws the spoon on the ground, and the bridegroom treads on it; and if it does not break, it is considered a bad omen signifying that the marriage will not last long. Subsequently, before the bride leaves for her new home, a small plate containing butter is offered to her; after she has eaten the butter the plate is broken and the wish is expressed that she shall suffer no greater damage than this.³ It is possible that the breaking of a loaf of bread or a cake over the heads of the couple, or over the head of the bride, which is found both among the Serbs⁴ and in England, Scotland, and Ireland,⁵ also belongs to the class of rites which we are now discussing.

There are other rites which are apparently intended to help the bridegroom to consummate the marriage. In some parts of Morocco, after he has entered the room where the bride is waiting, he cuts with his sword the rope which has been tied from wall to wall in front of the bed, thus cutting off the *bas*.⁶ He takes off the bride’s right slipper,

¹ Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 102. In Cyprus the bridegroom, before entering, cuts off the head of a fowl which is held down by head and feet upon the threshold (*ibid.* p. 101).

² Sébillot, *Le Folk-Lore de France*, iii. 401.

³ Wiedemann, quoted by v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 84 sq.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 136.

⁵ See *infra*, ii. 476 sq.

⁶ Cf. *infra*, ii. 466 sq. (Bashkir).

removes the needle which her mother has put into it as a protection against evil spirits, and throws it away, at the same time throwing away the *bas*, and then puts the slipper back on her foot.¹ Or he removes the cover from her head, crushes its cane-work and throws it on the floor, thus destroying the *bas*.² In Andjra the bridegroom, before he can have intercourse with the bride, must untie seven knots which have been made in the cord of her drawers by the women attending her ;³ and in ancient Rome the girdle worn by the bride was tied up in a so-called " Herculean knot " (*nodus Herculeaneus*)—particularly difficult to loose—which the bridegroom untied in bed.⁴ In these cases the " tying up " of the bride may be, or have been, a sham attempt to protect the bride by laying obstacles in the bridegroom's way, or a means of protecting the bride from being by magic deprived of her virginity before the conjugal intercourse, or a means of ensuring the consummation of the marriage by compelling the bridegroom to untie the knot ; but in any case we may presume that the untying of it was regarded as a necessary preliminary to coition. Knots and tangles are frequently looked upon as magical impediments and therefore avoided at weddings as well as child-births.⁵ In many tribes in Morocco the bride comes to the bridegroom's place with her hair dishevelled and without a belt,⁶ and in some places the bridegroom also has no belt round his waist.⁷ Among Slavonic peoples, too, the bride has her hair dishevelled,⁸ and in some parts of Poland it is the bridegroom who opens her plaits.⁹

In Ukrainia, when the marriage is going to be consummated, songs are sung in which God is invoked to give his assistance. Other songs, to which perhaps a magical

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 237. ² *Ibid.* p. 235. ³ *Ibid.* p. 232.

⁴ Festus, *op. cit.* p. 63. Cf. Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 45 n. 2 ; Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *op. cit.* ii. 142.

⁵ Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 579 sqq. Frazer, *Taboo*, p. 294 sqq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 121 sqq.

⁶ Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 261, 263 sq. ; see Index, s.v. ' Hair,' and ' Belt.'

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 264 ; see Index, s.v. ' Belt.'

⁸ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 75, 77, 124, 128.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 75.

efficacy is ascribed, contain sentences like these :—" Et vous, boïards, allez dans les buissons d'osiers et abattez des jeunes tiges pour un joug, nous irons défricher le sol, et labourer *la terre vierge*. . . . Celui qui l'aura cultivée en deviendra le propriétaire." Or, " La charrue ne va pas, le fer n'enforce pas—le sol est dur—et cette terre vierge n'est pas à moi : elle appartient à la mère ; prêtez-moi un fouet pour faire marcher le taureau — faites-le pousser . . . nous labourerons la terre vierge."¹

It is quite possible that the red colour, which is so frequently used in marriage rites, is not only a sign of virginity, as it is sometimes expressly said to be,² but is regarded as a means of ensuring defloration. The Chinese of Canton suspend from the top of the nuptial bed three long strips of red paper containing good wishes, such as, " A hundred sons and a thousand grandsons be your portion ! "³ In Greece and Rome the nuptial bed was covered with red cloths ;⁴ and at Ekenäs, in Finland, the bridal blanket must be red " in order that the bride shall be happy." ⁵ In Rome the bride wore a red veil (*flammeum*),⁶ and this is still the case in Albania,⁷ Bulgaria,⁸ and other parts of South-Eastern Europe.⁹ In some parts of Russia the bridegroom's companions, the so-called *boyary*, carry red ribbons.¹⁰ In Ukrainia the horses pulling the car in which the bride is, late at night, taken to the bridegroom's house, are adorned with red ribbons ; her mother seizes hold of their bridles, leads them to the road, and wishes her daughter a " good night," while the other women who accompany her sing, " We have laid her upon a white bed, she has herself desired a red beet-root for her white body." ¹¹ Among the Bashkir the bridegroom, before

¹ Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 573.

² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 42. In Ukrainia, if the bride is known not to be a virgin, " on ne voit point de rouge " (Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, iii. 546). ³ Gray, *op. cit.* i. 205. ⁴ Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, iii. 545.

⁵ Wessman, ' Folketro i Ekenäs,' in *Hembygden*, ix. 51.

⁶ Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 45.

⁷ v. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 145. ⁸ Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 218.

⁹ Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, iii. 545. ¹⁰ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 16.

¹¹ Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 562 sq.

entering the room where the guests are assembled, "doit briser du pied un fil rouge que tiennent deux femmes en travers de la porte ; s'il ne voit pas le fil et tombe, tout le monde se moque de lui. Puis il s'assied, et les hôtes s'en vont l'un après l'autre ; quand il est seul, les amies lui amènent la fiancée, et s'en vont."¹

Many rites are practised with a view to making the wife fruitful or the mother of male offspring. First, prayers are often offered to this effect by a relative or a priest ; of this instances will be given below. In Morocco, when the bride has been dressed in her wedding-costume, the bridegroom's mother, and subsequently the other women who are present as well, sing :—" Go out, may you give birth to male twins ; even one son I wish you to give birth to."² Or she carries a sieve,³ or a bundle of her son's old clothes,⁴ on her back, as if it were a baby ; or the bride's mother is put into a net by the bachelors, and swung to and fro in the same manner as a child is rocked to sleep.⁵ When the bride is taken to the bridegroom's place the animal on which she rides must sometimes be a mare, on account of its fruitfulness,⁶ and sometimes a stallion, that she shall give birth to male offspring.⁷ It is, in certain cases at least, for the same purpose that a little boy rides behind her on the mare ;⁸ and the custom which sometimes requires that the animal shall also be ridden by a little boy when it is taken to the bride's place⁹ seems partly to serve a similar object, although the chief thing may be that it should be ridden by somebody, since an empty saddle is looked upon as a bad omen and should therefore be avoided at a wedding,¹⁰ just as are empty dishes, trays, and tables.¹¹

¹ van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 172. Cf. *supra*, ii. 464.

² Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 154, 155, 348 sq.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 195, 199, 349. ⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 127, 128, 230, 349.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 246, 247, 349. ⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 175, 180, 191, 349.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 168, 191, 349. In Wales it was believed that "if the bridegroom rode a mare to the wedding, his wife would have daughters, but no sons" (Marie Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 271).

⁸ Westermarck. *op. cit.* pp. 172, 174, 176, 179, 181, 185, 191, 349.

⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 172, 175, 191, 192, 349.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 172, 180, 182, 192, 320 sq.

¹¹ *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25, 34, 239, 241, 249, 279, 287, 321.

Very similar customs are found in other countries. Among the Manchus, when the bridal sedan chair is sent to the bride's house, it is sometimes occupied "by a child of two years old, whose presence is supposed to be an omen of a numerous progeny of male children."¹ Miss Durham tells me that among the Roman Catholics of Scutari, in order that the bride shall give birth to male offspring, a little boy is put into the carriage in which she drives from the church to the bridegroom's house. In Southern Albania, again, as I am informed by M. Mehmed Bey of Konitza, a little boy is for the same purpose put into the nuptial bed and rolled to and fro before the couple lie down; and a similar custom prevails among the Slovaks.² Among the Muhammadans of Višegrad and Čainica a boy is rolled on a mattress on which the bride is placed before she is taken to the nuptial chamber;³ whilst in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.⁴ Among the Esthonians⁵ and many or all Slavonic peoples⁶ a boy is offered to the bride or is put to sit on her lap; and in Bulgaria the bridegroom has to hold a boy and the bride a girl.⁷ In Corsica, also, a child is given to the bride, after which the whole assembly pronounce the following blessing upon the couple:—"Dio vi dia buona fortuna, Tre di maschi e femmin' una."⁸ The

¹ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 486.

² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 107.

³ *Ibid.* p. 132.

⁴ Gaslander, 'Beskrifning, Om Allmogens Sinnelag, Seder vid de årliga Högtider, etc. i Jönköpings Län och Wästerås Härad,' in *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folklif*, Bihang i. p. 276. Rääf, *op. cit.* p. i. 113. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, p. 85.

⁵ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten*, p. 38. Among the same people a suitor must not ride on a mare to the house of the girl he is courting, lest he should get only daughters (*ibid.* p. 26).

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 18, 19, 46, 106, 114, 129, 130, 133, 136, 145, 173. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, pp. 386, 398, 428, 430, 447 sq. Rajacsich, *op. cit.* pp. 159, 178. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 357.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 146. Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 221.

⁸ Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 257.

custom may have belonged to the primitive Indo-European marriage ritual ; for we learn from the Grihyasūtras that in ancient India, on the bride's entering her new home, a little boy was placed on her lap, as an omen of male progeny.¹ The same rite is for the same purpose practised in Nias.² Among the Masai, when bride and bridegroom are together in their new hut, the mother of the latter brings there a little child, which the bridegroom puts to sit on the bride's lap, and she gives it milk to drink from a bottle ; this, also, is done for the purpose of obtaining children.³ Among the Suk of East Africa the bride refuses to enter the bridegroom's house until the child of a neighbour is put in her arms.⁴

The following practices may also serve as instances of the many methods by which marriages are intended to be rendered fruitful or productive of male offspring. Among the Manchus, when bride and bridegroom are sitting upon the bed face to face, an " offspring dumpling " is brought in and handed first to the bridegroom, who eats a mouthful, and then to the bride, who takes a small piece into her mouth and afterwards spits it out, " as an omen that the marriage will be productive of a numerous offspring."⁵ In Gardenston, in Scotland, the bridal bed was made up by a woman giving suck, as it was believed that if any other woman did so there would be no family.⁶ Among some of the Serbs a man's belt was formerly tied round the hand of the bride so that her first child should be a boy.⁷ Among the Slovaks of Gemer, when the bride is taken to the nuptial chamber, the young men, who are waiting at the door, for the same purpose touch her with their hats.⁸ Among the old Prussians no castrated animal was slaughtered to provide meat for

¹ *Grihya-Sūtras*, i. 42 ; ii. 50, 263. .

² Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im allen und modernen Indien*, p. 417.

³ Merker, *Die Masai*, p. 48.

⁴ Macdonald, ' Notes on the Ethnology of Tribes met with during Progress of the Juba Expedition 1897-99,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxix. 238.

⁵ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 488.

⁶ Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 100.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 135.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 107.

a wedding, because the slaughter of such an animal was supposed to make the marriage childless.¹

A marriage ceremony which has been represented as a fertility rite is the custom of the bridal pair, or the bride alone, being seated on the skin of an animal. This custom has prevailed, or still prevails, among several Indo-European peoples, and has therefore been supposed to have originated in primitive times.² In India the bride, on her arrival, was made to sit down on a red bull's hide; this custom is already mentioned in the Atharva-Veda.³ But in two Grihya-sūtras the rule is given that both bride and groom shall sit down on the hide.⁴ In Rome, again, the ordinary custom was to place the bride on a sheepskin, although at the marriage of priests the custom was to cover two chairs with the skin of the sacrificial sheep, and to make the bridal pair sit down on this skin.⁵ Among the Slavonic peoples the couple sit on a fur, cushion, or cloth.⁶ In Esthonia the bride is placed on a blanket or fur; but in one place she is made to stand on a man's coat,⁷ and this Dr. Hartland considers to favour the view⁸ that the rite was intended to promote the bride's fertility.⁹ Yet it may very well be that the bride, or the groom as well, had to sit on a skin because it was considered dangerous for them to sit on the ground,¹⁰ and that the use of a male animal's hide, which is not mentioned in the descriptions of the European rites, or of a man's coat, was a local modification of the prophylactic rite combining with it a reproductive purpose.

Another marriage rite which has been traced to the primitive Indo-Europeans is the custom of throwing some kind of cereals or fruit on the bride.¹¹ This custom, or the

¹ Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neues Preussen*, p. 180.

² Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 273 sq.

³ *Ib'id.* p. 273. ⁴ *Grihya-Sūtras*, ii. 193, 194, 263.

⁵ Servius, *Commentarii in Virgilii Aeneidos*, iv. 374. Festus, *op. cit.* p. 114. Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 112 sq.

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 14, 36, 185 sq.

⁷ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 89.

⁸ For this view see, e.g., Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 186 sq.; Crooke, 'Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. 244; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 210. ⁹ Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 133.

¹⁰ See *infra*, ii. 530 sqq. ¹¹ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 277 sqq.

custom of throwing grain or fruit on the bridal pair or on the bridegroom separately or even on the wedding company, has been found to prevail from India, Indo-China, and the Indian Archipelago in the East to the Atlantic Ocean in the West.¹ In India we can trace it from the Grihyasūtras through the classical Sanskrit literature down to the present day. The poet Kālidāsa describes how Prince Aja and his bride, sitting on a golden chair, were strewn with wet grains of barley, first by young Brahmans, then by the King and all the relations, and lastly by noble women.² In Siam bride and bridegroom are sprinkled with rice, scented oil, and flowers.³ Among the Karens of Martaban "the head person of the village, or an elder selected for the occasion, takes some rice and places part on the head of the bridegroom and part on that of the woman."⁴ Among the Gonds of the Eastern Ghauts the assembled females throw yellow-coloured rice from all directions on the couple.⁵ Among the Hindus of South India all present throw rice on to the heads of the married pair.⁶ Among the Mundas the bridegroom throws three handfuls of rice at the forehead of the bride and the bride next throws three handfuls of rice at the forehead of the bridegroom;⁷ and among the Yánádis of North Arcot, also, each of them pours a handful of rice upon the other's head three times.⁸ Among the

¹ *Idem*, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 75 sqq. *Idem*, in *Transactions*, p. 277 sqq. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore in Northern India*, ii. 26 sq. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 417 sqq. *Idem*, *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, p. 504 sqq. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 1 sqq. Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 354 sqq. v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 112 sqq. de Gubernatis, *Storia comparata degli usi nuziali*, p. 174.

² Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 75. *Idem*, in *Transactions*, p. 278 sq.

³ Young, *Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 95.

⁴ Low, in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, iv. 418.

⁵ Hayavadana Rao, in *Anthropos*, v. 794.

⁶ Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 108.

⁷ Sarat Chandra Roy, *Mundas*, p. 447.

⁸ Cox, *Madras District Manuals: North Arcot*, i. 250. Ranga Rao, 'Yánádis of the Nellore District,' in the *Madras Government Museum's Bulletin*, iv. 99.

Coorgs, at the feast in the bride's house the bridegroom strews some grains of rice upon her head, gives her a little milk to drink, and makes her a present of some coin; and then his parents and relatives salute her in the same manner.¹ In Bihār, again, "when the bridegroom arrives at the door of the bride's house, the women of her family receive him, and scatter over him uncooked rice, the dung of a heifer, balls of cooked rice, and other articles."² So also in Dardistan the bridegroom, and his friends as well, standing round the door of the bride's house, are sprinkled with flour.³ Contact with grain may also be brought about in some other way than by throwing it. Thus among the Oráons the bridegroom marks the bride with red lead while both are standing on a curry-stone, under which a sheaf of corn lies upon a plough-yoke.⁴ Among the Berads of Bombay the bride is made to stand in a basket of millet.⁵ At Maratha marriages bride and bridegroom have to stand in baskets filled with unhusked wheat.⁶ Among high-caste Hindus of the Punjab the bridegroom, on entering the bridal chamber, finds a sieve hanging on the doorpost.⁷

Similar rites are found among more northerly peoples in Asia. In Tibet, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, his mother receives her with some barley flour mixed with butter in her right hand, and with a jar full of milk in her left hand;⁸ or when the bride goes to the bridegroom's house accompanied by the relatives and friends of both families, each of these takes grain and scatters it over the bride;⁹ or a measure full of grain, in which is stuck an arrow with a lump of clarified butter at the top, is at the wedding placed between bride and bridegroom.¹⁰

¹ Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 39.

² Grierson, *Bihār Peasant Life*, p. 364 sq.

³ Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 79 sq.

⁴ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 252. ⁵ Crooke, in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. 235.

⁶ Shastri, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 99.

⁷ Maya Das, *ibid.* i. 98.

⁸ Sarat Chandra Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxii. pt. iii. 19.

⁹ Rockhill, 'Tibet,' in *Jour. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* N.S. xxiii. 229.

¹⁰ Ahmad Shah, *Four Years in Tibet*, p. 57.

Among the Buryat "the bridegroom enters the *yurta* to put some grease in the fire; and when the bride and her party follow him in, grains of corn are thrown upon their heads."¹ Among the Manchus "laichees, lung ugan, chestnuts, and dates" are placed on the four corners of the bridal bed.² At Foochow in China five coins, belonging to the reigns of five different emperors, are usually scattered around on the bottom of the bridal bedstead; five bunches of boiled rice, each consisting of five bundles, are hung up from the frame provided for suspending the curtain of the bed; and a square wooden vessel, half filled with uncooked rice, is placed on the centre of the bedstead, and on the top of the rice is spread a sheet of red paper on which are arranged various articles, such as ten pairs of chopsticks, a small case containing money-scales, and five kinds of dried fruits. When the bride is seated in the sedan in which she is to be taken to her future home, but before she starts, her parents or some other members of her family take a bed-quilt by its four corners and hold it thus before the bridal chair, while one of the bride's assistants tosses into the air, one by one, four bread-cakes, in such a manner that they will fall into the bed-quilt. When the sedan, on its arrival at the bridegroom's place, has been carried into the reception-room, a sieve is put on the top of it, over its door; and when the bride is then led towards the door of her room, this sieve is either held over her head or is placed in front of the door of the sedan, so that, on stepping out, she will step into it.³

In ancient Greece the bride, on entering the bridegroom's house, was taken by him to the hearth and was there showered with dates, figs, nuts, little coins, and so forth; or sweetmeats were poured upon the wedded pair at the entrance to the bridegroom's house.⁴ In ancient Rome, again, the bridegroom scattered nuts for the boys in the

¹ Miss Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, p. 119.

² Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 488.

³ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 76, 79, 83 sq.

⁴ Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 1 sq. Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *op. cit.* ii. 136.

crowd;¹ but Mannhardt suggests that the nuts were originally thrown by him over the bride, and then only gathered up by the boys.² In modern Greece coins, rice, cotton-seeds, sweetmeats, and also nuts, are thrown upon the bridal procession from the windows of relatives and friends, or on bride and bridegroom on their departure from the bride's home or on their arrival at the bridegroom's.³ In Crete, at the threshold of the bridegroom's house, a maiden receives the bride with honey and nuts mixed with sesame, and when the bride comes to the interior of the house a pomegranate is offered her; she breaks it into pieces, and strews the pips on the ground.⁴

At Scutari, according to Miss Durham, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's house, the wedding guests throw on her flowers, sweets, and holy water blessed by the priest in church; whilst in South Albania, according to M. Mehmed Bey, the bridegroom's mother throws rice over her.⁵ In Slavonic countries bride and bridegroom are sprinkled with corn, or corn and hops, when they enter the house of the latter;⁶ or corn or almonds and coins as well are thrown over the bride,⁷ or hops or wheat over the bridegroom,⁸ or hops, grain, and nuts over the nuptial procession.⁹ In some parts of Russia the ceremony takes place in church: when

¹ Vergil, *Bucolica*, Ecloga viii. 30. Catullus, *Carmina*, lxi. 131 sqq. Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 54.

² Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 361.

³ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 92. Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 20. Rodd, *op. cit.* pp. 95, 99. In Cappadocia it is the custom to throw a mixture of corn and coins over the heads of the couple (Naumann, quoted by Stern, *Medizin, Aberglaube und Geschlechtsleben in der Türkei*, ii. 103).

⁴ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 95 sqq.

⁵ Hahn states (*op. cit.* p. 146) that in Albania, on the arrival of the bridal procession at the bridegroom's house, his mother throws rice over the couple and then on the whole company. Among the Kilmeni, a large tribe living north of Scutari, the bride is led three times round the bridegroom's house, an apple is thrown over the roof, and she is given corn (Miss Durham, *High Albania*, p. 86).

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 12 (Great Russians), 64 (White Russians).

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 133, 144 (Southern Slavs). Rajacsich, *op. cit.* p. 159.

⁸ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 18 (Great Russians), 45 (Little Russians).

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 16 (Great Russians).

bride and bridegroom kneel down on a carpet to receive the blessing of the bridegroom's parents, the mother scatters grains of hops over the bride's head ;¹ or when the priest has tied the nuptial knot at the altar, the clerk or sexton sprinkles on her head a handful of hops.² Among the Serbs of Syrmia the bridegroom's mother receives the bride with a loaf of bread and a plate containing grain or rice ;³ and a sieve figures prominently in the marriage ceremonies of the Serbs, Croats, and Bulgars.⁴ Among the old Prussians the bride was taken to all the doors of her new home, and at each door she was sprinkled with barley, wheat, and pulse.⁵

In Italy grain is, or used to be, thrown over bride and bridegroom or on the bridal company, or *confetti* is used instead ;⁶ or sweets, boiled chestnuts, nuts, and walnuts are distributed to the spectators.⁷ In some parts of France hemp-seed or wheat is showered over bride and bridegroom ;⁸ or the bride, besides treading upon an egg, had wheat thrown over her on entering her new home—a custom which was expressly condemned by a Synod in 1626.⁹ In the same country the bride is also received with three loaves of bread, which she immediately gives to some poor people,¹⁰ or with a loaf of bread and a lump of butter, which she distributes among the young people accompanying her.¹¹ In Germany the bride and bridegroom are frequently received with bread and drink,¹² and in Silesia and Bohemia peas or grains of peeled barley are thrown on them.¹³ But

¹ Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 355.

² Lady Hamilton, *Marriage Rites, Customs, and Ceremonies, of the Nations of the Universe*, p. 99.

³ Rajacsich, *op. cit.* p. 159.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 179. Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 125, 129, 136, 143, 145 sq.

⁵ Hartknoch, *op. cit.* p. 180.

⁶ Pitrè, *Usi e costumi del popolo siciliano*, ii. 72 sqq. Bresciani, *op. cit.* ii. 154 ; Faggiani, in Provenzal, *op. cit.* p. 232 (Sardinia).

⁷ Canziani, 'Courtship, Marriage, and Folk-Belief in Val d'Ossola (Piedmont),' in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. 460.

⁸ Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.* ii. 47.

⁹ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 471.

¹⁰ de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 238.

¹¹ Ogée, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la province de Bretagne*, ii. 357.

¹² Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 90 sq.

¹³ Mannhardt, *op. cit.* p. 360.

the custom of throwing corn on bride or bridegroom seems to be rare in Germany and unknown at peasant weddings in Scandinavia, although grains of wheat or corn are sometimes put into their stockings.¹ On the other hand, the custom in question is found among some Ugro-Finnic peoples, who have probably borrowed it from their Slavonic neighbours.²

In England other things than rice were formerly, or are still in some places, thrown upon the bride, apart from the modern adoption of *confetti*. We are told that in the seventeenth century wheat was cast on her head when she came from church.³ In the north of England one of the oldest inhabitants of the neighbourhood, who has been stationed on the threshold of the bride's new home, throws a plateful of short-bread over her head, so that it falls outside ; and a scramble ensues for the pieces, as it is deemed very fortunate to get a piece of the shortbread.⁴ At Siston, in Gloucestershire, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, a large cake was broken over the heads of the couple.⁵ In the north-east of Scotland, when the bride passed over the threshold, there was held over her head a sieve containing bread and cheese, which were distributed among the guests or sometimes scattered around her, in which case there was a rush made by the young folks to secure a piece. At times an oatmeal cake was broken over her head, but in later days a thin cake of short-bread, called the bride-cake, was substituted for it ; and this, too, was distributed among the guests, who carefully preserved it, particularly the unmarried. In some districts, when the sieve was in the act of being placed over her head, or the bread was broken, it was the bridegroom's duty to snatch her from below it. She was led first to the hearth and at last to the *girnal*, or *mehl-bowie*, and her hand was pressed into the meal as far as possible.⁶ In Roseheart, in Aberdeenshire, barley is thrown over the bridal pair as they come to the feasting-

¹ *Ibid.* p. 361.

² Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 251 sq.

³ Moffet, *Health's Improvement*, p. 218.

⁴ Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 36.

⁵ *Gloucestershire Notes and Queries*, ii. 276.

⁶ Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 92 sq.

place.¹ In Shetland the bride's mother and one or two female relatives meet the bride carrying in a napkin a cake baked with seeds and sugar, broken into small pieces, which are thrown over the head of the bride.² In the west of Ireland the bridegroom's mother breaks an oaten cake on the head of the bride as the young woman passes the doorway of her future home.³ In the description of a rustic marriage festival in the wilds of Kerry about the year 1830 it is said that "behind the pair followed two attendants, bearing high over the heads of the young couple a sieve filled with meal."⁴

Customs of the same sort have been found among Jews of all countries. We know that in Talmudic times nuts and wheat were cast about the path on which bride and bridegroom strode; and barley was sown in a flower-vase a few days before the wedding, and was thrown over the young couple as in modern times.⁵ At a Jewish wedding in Mayence at the end of the fourteenth century the bridegroom took the bride's hand at the door of the synagogue while the two were showered with wheat and coins, which were afterwards given to the poor.⁶ But as the custom is not known to have existed among the ancient Hebrews, it has been suggested that the Jews borrowed it from Indo-Europeans.⁷ Among the Maronites "the bride, conveyed to her new home, is pelted with corn and raisins, and on arriving she flings a pomegranate amid the party, which is greedily seized and divided by the bridegroom's companions."⁸ Among some Algerian Berbers, after the bride

¹ *Idem*, 'Some Marriage Customs in Cairnbulg and Inverallochy,' in *Folk-Lore Journal*, i. 120.

² Black, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. Orkney and Shetland Islands, p. 209 sq.

³ Blake, 'Matrimonial Customs in the West of Ireland,' in *Folk-Lore*, xviii. 81.

⁴ Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, ii. 33.

⁵ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 196.

⁶ Grunwald, 'Marriage Ceremonies,' in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii. 34b.

⁷ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 210 n. 1.

⁸ Conder, *Heth and Moab*, p. 293.

has drunk the milk and water offered her, "on lui donne une poignée de blé, d'orge et de sel, qu'elle doit jeter, à droite et à gauche, par dessus ses épaules."¹ In Morocco, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's place, she is received with grain, flour, bread, *sěksu*, or something else made of grain, or red raisins; and very commonly dried fruits—raisins, figs, dates, walnuts, or almonds—are thrown over her, or over the box in which she has been brought, by the bridegroom's mother or other people of his family or the bridegroom himself or, in one tribe visited by me, by a woman of the bride's family.² It is quite possible that the peoples of North Africa have received the custom from Indo-Europeans, but it *may* have been a genuine Berber custom; the Guanches of the Canary Islands are said to have thrown grain in the faces of the newly-wed.³ It is interesting to note that among the Wabondei in Central Africa rice and maize are strewn over the heads of bride and bridegroom, and maize is put on their feet.⁴ In Ponapé, one of the Caroline Islands, when the girl has arrived at the house of the bridegroom, his mother rubs cocoanut oil vigorously into her back and shoulders, and a garland of flowers is placed on her head.⁵

Mannhardt suggests that the custom of throwing grain or seeds or dried fruit over the bride undeniably takes its rise "from the feeling of a sympathetic connection between mankind and seed-bearing grasses and the comparison between the fruit of the body and of corn";⁶ and some later writers likewise assume that it was intended to pro-

¹ Féraud, 'Mœurs et coutumes kabiles,' in *Revue africaine*, vi. 431.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 194-198, 201, 204-207, 209, 211-214, 216.

³ Alice C. Cook, 'Aborigines of the Canary Islands,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. ii. 478.

⁴ Dale, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxv. 199. Baumann, *Usambara*, p. 134. Among the Wasambara, according to Farler ('Usambara Country in East Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc.* N.S. i. 92), the women go round the bride with baskets of Indian corn, dropping some before her as they pass, until a large heap is made.

⁵ Christian, *Caroline Islands*, p. 73.

⁶ Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 365.

mote fecundity.¹ It is also evident that in certain cases this or kindred customs are looked upon in such a light by the peoples who practise them. In Bohemia and Silesia, where peas or grains of peeled barley are thrown on the couple, it is believed that the number of grains afterwards found lying on the bride's dress indicates the number of children she will have.² The Great Russians are said to throw corn on bride and bridegroom "in order that their married life shall be fruitful";³ and the Russian clerk or sexton who sprinkles hops on the bride's head wishes that she may be as fruitful as that plant.⁴ Addison wrote in the seventeenth century that among the Jews of some countries "the Guests bring with them handfuls of corn, which they cast at the New-Married, saying, *Increase and Multiply*. By which they also wish them *Peace and Abundance*."⁵ And the same custom is still practised by West Russian Jews.⁶ The Cretan customs mentioned above are represented by Wachsmuth as fertility rites.⁷ At Licata, in Sicily, the barley thrown on the couple augurs the birth of male offspring and the wheat the birth of female.⁸ Of the Manchus it is said that the chestnuts, dates, and other things that are placed on the four corners of the bridal bed "are intended to indicate that the pair will produce an early, numerous, and intelligent offspring."⁹ The corn which the Wabondei throw over the heads of bride and bridegroom is represented as a symbol of fertility.¹⁰ Mannhardt also regarded the sieve, of which so frequent use is made in marriage ceremonies, as a symbol of fecundity;¹¹ and this view is supported by certain practices I found in Morocco.¹² For in-

¹ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 120. Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 278 sq. *Idem*, *Das alt-indische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 75 sqq. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 109 sq. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 260 n. 1. Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 173, 187.

Mannhardt; *op. cit.* p. 360. ³ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 12.

⁴ Lady Hamilton, *op. cit.* p. 99.

⁵ Addison, *Present State of the Jews*, p. 52. Cf. *supra*, ii. 462.

⁶ Andree, *Zur Volkskunde der Juden*, p. 144.

⁷ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* pp. 96, 98. ⁸ Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 73.

⁹ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 488. ¹⁰ Baumann, *op. cit.* p. 134.

¹¹ Mannhardt, *op. cit.* pp. 357, 358, 360, 361, 364.

¹² Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 195 sq.

stance, among some Berbers of the Rif, when a person buys sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance of the yard and makes the animals step over it so that they shall multiply.

At the same time we also find other ideas connected with the throwing of grain and other kindred marriage rites. In many cases they are said to be means of ensuring prosperity as well as offspring, or prosperity or abundance only. The object of placing coins, rice, and other articles on the bridal bed at weddings in Foochow "is to secure prosperity to the couple after their marriage, especially with regard to the bearing of children in their family in successive generations. The five cash of five successive emperors, etc., are good omens of such fruitfulness on the part of the expectant bride, or of general prosperity to the family."¹ Among the old Prussians the person who sprinkled the bride with corn and pulse said, "May our gods give you a sufficiency of everything as long as you remain in the faith in which your forefathers died and you manage your house with industry and due care."² In Sicily³ and Sardinia⁴ the throwing of grain over the bridal pair or the nuptial procession is considered to be an augury or symbol of abundance. M. Mehmed Bey tells me that the South Albanians throw rice over the bride to make the marriage prosperous, whilst, according to v. Hahn, the Albanian custom of throwing rice on the pair and their company is a "symbol of fertility and wealth."⁵ Among the Parsees rice is cast towards the young couple to signify plenty and prosperity.⁶ In Surrey, also, as old people have told me, the rice which is thrown on the bride means prosperity; and at Hackness in Yorkshire the casting of rice after the wedding-party when it comes out of church is a sign of the wish, "May plenty strew their path."⁷ The Irish custom of bearing a sieve filled with meal over the heads of the bridal pair was "a sign of the plenty that would be in their house,

¹ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 77.

² Hartknoch, *op. cit.* p. 180.

³ Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 72 sq.

⁴ Faggiani, in Provençal, *op. cit.* p. 232.

⁵ v. Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 146. ⁶ Mary Billington, *Woman in India*, p. 85.

⁷ Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk Lore*, vol. ii. North Riding of Yorkshire, York and the Ainsty, p. 295.

and an omen of good luck and the blessing of children.”¹ The pressing of the Scotch bride’s hand into the meal was believed to secure “in all time coming abundance of the stuff of life in the household.”² In Montenegro a basket filled with fruits is offered to the bride, who distributes them among those who are present, as a symbol of prosperity having entered the house together with the bride.³ Among the Ruthenians of Bukovina bread and salt are thrown into the bosom of the bride, in order that these articles shall never fail her.⁴ The Algerian Berbers say that corn and salt are given to the bride and thrown by her over her shoulders “pour faire descendre la bénédiction et l’abondance dans la famille.”⁵ In Andjra, in Morocco, I was told that the bridegroom’s mother throws bread and fruit over the bridal box so that the married couple shall have much to eat, and what falls on the ground is partly taken by persons who want to impart the bride’s *baraka*, or holiness, to their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor.⁶ To connect corn or fruit with prosperity or abundance may, it seems to me, be just as primitive as to connect them with fertility. And when the rite also includes the throwing of coins, we may suppose that the idea of promoting the material welfare of the couple must have been present in the minds of those who initiated the rite.

Among the Moors I have found yet other ideas attached to the rite we are discussing, though never that of ensuring fertility. Sometimes the raisins, figs, or dates are said to bring good luck,⁷ or to make everything sweet,⁸ or to make the bride sweet to the bridegroom’s family;⁹ and the cake, barley, or wheat which is offered her and then thrown by her on the people is said to give them the benefit of her *baraka*¹⁰ or to make the year good.¹¹ In one tribe, where it

¹ Wood-Martin, *op. cit.* ii. 33.

² Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 93.

³ Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 261.

⁴ Kaendl, ‘Ruthenische Hochzeitgebräuche in der Bukowina,’ in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xi. 163.

⁵ Féraud, in *Revue africaine*, vi. 431.

⁶ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 195.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 206 sq.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 209.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 196, 211.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 198.

is the custom for the bridegroom, sitting on the roof or upper floor of the house, to throw down dried fruit and bread on the blanket held over the bride and on the people round her when she walks into his house, it is said that he does so for the object of averting the evil eye from the bride, as the things thrown would attract the looks of the people.¹ In other tribes the wheat, flour, and so forth, which the bride throws over her head is represented as a means by which she rids herself of evil influences,² and sometimes the dried fruit which she throws on the people is said to remove *bas*, or evil, from those who partake of it.³ In other countries, also, customs of this sort are not infrequently regarded as prophylactics or means of purification. In Syria⁴ and Palestine⁵ the throwing of grain and salt on the people at a wedding is said to be a charm against the evil eye. Among the Tobads the bridal couple are sprinkled with peeled rice as a protection against evil spirits.⁶ Among the Muhammadans of the kingdom of Acheh, on the east coast of Sumatra, the bridegroom is at the end of the wedding-feast smeared behind the ears with yellow glutinous rice to be protected from evil influences.⁷ The customs of showering the bridegroom with rice and the dung of a heifer and of sprinkling him with flour, before he enters the bride's house,⁸ undoubtedly look like purification rites, cowdung being regarded in India as a purifying substance. 'On the north-east coast of Aberdeenshire, when the bride returns to her father's house after the marriage, broken bread of various sorts is thrown over her before she enters, and a similar ceremony is gone through with the bridegroom at his father's door.'⁹ It is also noteworthy that the bride is subject to the rite chiefly on her arrival at her new home—an occasion when purification rites are of frequent occurrence. In ancient Greece dried

¹ *Ibid.* p. 213.

² *Ibid.* pp. 197, 207 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 208.

⁴ van Kasteren, 'Aus dem "Buche der Weiber,"' in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, xviii. 49.

⁵ Lydia Einszler, 'Das böse Auge,' *ibid.* xii. 208.

⁶ Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 431.

⁷ Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i. 326.

⁸ *Supra*, ii. 472.

⁹ Gregor, in *Folk-Lore Journal*, i. 119 sq.

fruits were thrown not only over a bride but over a newly-bought slave as well,¹ and this, too, suggests the idea of protection against evil influences. It may be added that the Gypsies, in England at least, think that the scattering of bread on a person, or his carrying a grain of wheat, protects him against dangers, both natural and supernatural.²

Mr. Crawley maintains that "the practice of throwing rice originated in the idea of giving food to the evil influences to induce them to be propitious and depart," and that this idea, in particular, underlies the custom of flinging flour, sweetmeats, and similar things among the onlookers.³ So also Dr. Samter believes that the rite which we are now discussing was originally meant as a food-offering to spirits which required propitiation;⁴ and the same opinion has been expressed by M. Reinach⁵ and by Sartori.⁶ All dangerous influences at marriages, however, are not thought of as spirits, and it is very doubtful whether corn or fruits when used as prophylactics have always been originally regarded as offerings. In Morocco flour is on various occasions used as a means of purification,⁷ and among the Achehnese the most effective method of averting evil influences consists in besprinkling the person or thing with water mixed with a little rice-flour.⁸ Mr. Crooke says that rice or wheat is poured over the heads of bride and bridegroom with the object "to annul the influences which would prevent the fertility of the union";⁹ but he also observes that one object of this rite "would seem to be to keep in the soul which is likely to depart at such a crisis in life as

¹ Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 2.

² Thompson, in *Folk-Lore*, xxiv. 336.

³ Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 325.

⁴ Samter, *Familienfeste*, p. 7 sq. *Idem*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 172 sqq.

⁵ Reinach, *Cultes, mythes et religions*, i. 117.

⁶ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 91.

⁷ Westermarck, 'Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 142. *Idem*, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, Certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco*, p. 50. *Idem*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 119.

⁸ Snouck Hurgronje, *op. cit.* i. 305.

⁹ Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 319.

marriage.”¹ A similar observation, based on the beliefs of the Macassars and Buginese of Celebes,² had previously been made by Wilken ;³ but it can certainly not be accepted as a general explanation of the rite.

Considering how many different explanations of the custom in question are given by the people practising it, even in the same country, there can be no doubt that its real origin has, in certain cases at least, been forgotten and a new interpretation substituted for the idea from which it rose. But at the same time, as has been said before,⁴ we should be on our guard against the assumption, only too common in Anthropology, that similar ceremonies necessarily have their roots in similar ideas, even though practised by different peoples. Objects like corn and dried fruit may certainly be used for a variety of purposes. And if similar ceremonies may have sprung from different motives in different cases, it is obvious that the same ceremony in a given case may also be intended to serve more than one purpose ; nay, there is no reason to deny the possibility of mixed motives from the beginning. It is an unwarranted assumption, then, that the custom of throwing grain, seeds, or dried fruit at weddings, wherever it is found, originated in a rite the exclusive object of which was to promote fecundity. To ensure prosperity and abundance and to avert evil may have been equally primitive motives for it.

Fishes are frequently used for reproductive purposes,⁵ and figure, partly at least, on that account in marriage rites. Thus the Brahmans of Canara take the married pair to a pond and make them throw rice into the water and catch minnows ; they let all go save one, with the scales of which they mark their brows.⁶ Among oriental Jews the newly-wedded couple immediately after the religious ceremony jump three times over a large platter filled with fresh fish or over a vessel containing a live fish, or step seven times backwards and for-

¹ *Idem*, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 26.

² Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 33.

³ Wilken, *loc. cit.* p. 419 sqq. Cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 325.

⁴ See *supra*, i. 15 sq.

⁵ Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 48 sqq.

⁶ Crooke, *Things Indian*, p. 222.

wards over a fish ; and the ceremony is expounded to be the symbol of a prayer for children.¹ So also it was as a symbol of fertility that fish was formerly eaten on the second day of the wedding week among German Jews.² At Tangier the bride in the evening of the seventh day after her arrival at her new home, when she has been belted by two little boys, makes a tour of inspection in the house ; when she comes to the kitchen door, says the Shareefa of Wazzan, " a fish is produced, and a pretence is made of scraping it on her foot—a symbol of plenty in the culinary department."³ That the fish is scraped on her foot, however, suggests that the ceremony was in its origin a fertility rite. The same was probably the case with a custom mentioned by Leo Africanus in his description of marriages at Fez some four hundred years ago. He writes:—" So soone as the new married man goeth foorth of the house (which is for the most part on the seuenth day after the mariage) he buieth great plentie of fishes, which he causeth his mother or some other woman to cast vpon his wiues feete ; and this they, from an ancient superstitious custome, take for a good boading."⁴ A somewhat similar custom still prevails at Fez, although another meaning is attributed to it. I was told that on the ninth day after the actual wedding day the young wife must make bread in order that there shall always be much bread in the house, and her husband buys some fish, which he gives her to prepare, in order that they shall become prosperous ; to eat fish is generally considered to be lucky. It would seem that the roe of the fish might suggest not only fertility but abundance.

Eggs, also, are frequently used as means of promoting fecundity.⁵ In Andjra in Morocco, for instance, a woman who is anxious to become a mother sits down over a new bowl in which she has put a raw egg and some rain-water

¹ Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei*, p. 286. Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 196. Grunwald, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii. 341. *Notes and Queries*, ser. vi. vol. viii. 513, and vol. ix. 134.

² Grunwald, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii. 341.

³ Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, *My Life Story*, p. 137 sq.

⁴ Leo Africanus, *History and Description of Africa*, ii. 451.

⁵ Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 57 sqq.

which has fallen on 27th April (Old Style)—supposed to contain much benign virtue ; after a while she drinks the water and puts the egg underneath a hen to be hatched, and it is believed that if the peeper is a cock she will give birth to a boy, and if it is a hen to a girl. In the same tribe a man who wants to increase his capacity of reproduction eats the yolk of an egg every morning before breakfast for forty days in succession, and after eating it fills the shell with oil, which he drinks. Eggs are also frequently used in marriage rites, and in some such cases they are expressly said to hint at offspring.¹ But in Morocco, where they figure at weddings as prominently as anywhere, I have never heard of them being represented as fertility charms on such occasions. They are usually, like various other white things, said to make the couple's or the bridegroom's future bright and happy,² and on account of their whiteness they are also used for magical purposes in circumstances when they could not possibly be meant to ensure fertility.³ In one case the ceremonial use of an egg before the wedding was said not only to make the bridegroom's life bright, but also to make the weather fine during the wedding,⁴ and in another case to give good luck to him and a good year to the community.⁵ Among the Jews of Morocco, again, according to Addison, the bridegroom on the marriage day " takes a raw Egg, which he casts at the Bride ; intimating thereby his desire that she may have both an easie and joyful Child-birth."⁶ And the West Russian Jews, particularly the strict sect of the Chasidim, have the custom of setting a raw egg before a bride as a symbol of fruitfulness and that she may bear as easily as a hen lays an egg.⁷

There are other ceremonies which are likewise meant to facilitate the delivery of the young wife. In some parts of Sweden a bride must leave the laces of her shoes untied, " so that she may bear children as easily as she

¹ Lasch, ' Einige besondere Arten der Verwendung des Eies im Volksglauben und Volksbrauch,' in *Globus*, lxxxix. 104 sq.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 89, 90, 101, 113, 115, 124, 164, 194, 195, 260, 347.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 218 sq. n. 2, 261.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 89.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 113.

⁶ Addison, *op. cit.* p. 52.

⁷ Andree, *op. cit.* p. 145.

removes the shoe,"¹ and on returning from church she should dismount quickly from her horse, snatch off the bridle, hit the animal on the nose, and loosen the saddle-girths in order to have an easy labour.² In Esthonia, when the bridegroom comes riding, someone at once rushes to meet him and undoes his saddle-girth, because this tends to facilitate child-birth in the future wife.³ In the same country, when the young wife is brought into the husband's house, the fence on both sides of the entrance is pulled down, that she may drive in swiftly without hindrance; then, it is thought, her confinements will come off quickly and easily.⁴ In the Ansbach country it is believed that if the bridegroom ties the bride's garters for her, she will have easy labours.⁵

Some marriage rites are supposed to influence the external appearance or the behaviour of the future offspring. Among some Southern Slavs a bowl of milk and two spoons are put into the nuptial room "in order that the couple shall have beautiful children."⁶ In Esthonia the bridegroom's attendant cuts a small piece off a whole loaf, butters it, and puts it in the bride's mouth; her children will then have a small smooth mouth.⁷ In the same country, when the bride is fetched in, she must wear no chains or bells, but be led in in solemn silence; then she will have quiet children.⁸

Various ceremonies are performed for the purpose of making the couple prosperous.⁹ In Morocco dates are eaten to make them wealthy, in accordance with the common blessing, *Allāh itāmmar u i'āmmar*, "May God give dates and plenty."¹⁰ In a Berber tribe, after the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's place, his mother throws a silk

¹ Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 276. Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 115.

² Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 115. See also Törner, quoted by Wikman, 'Magiska bindebruk,' in *Hembygden*, iii. 66; and, for Denmark, Kristensen, *Gamle folks fortællinger om det jyske almueliv*, iv. 69.

³ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 30.

⁴ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. 1843.

⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 1806.

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 128 sq.

⁷ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 40.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 31 sq.

⁹ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 347 and the references in the foot-notes.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 25, 27, 28, 139, 164, 347.

kerchief round her neck and leads her by it to the four corners of the tent, saying at each corner one of the following sentences:—"Here is the threshold of boys," "Here is the threshold of sheep and cattle," "Here is the threshold of safety and quietness," "Here is the threshold of cheapness."¹ In another Berber tribe a lamb is handed to the bride by the bridegroom's mother, or, if she has no lamb, by some other person, after which the bride hurls the animal over the tent, so that there shall be many sheep in the village.² In several tribes a woman of the bridegroom's family puts into the bride's hand some butter, with which she smears the horizontal pole supporting the roof of the tent, so that there shall be an abundance of butter or "grease" in the household.³ Perhaps it was partly for a similar purpose that the Roman bride anointed the door-posts of the bridegroom's house with fat and oil and hung wool on them,⁴ though the idea of averting evil may also have been connected with the custom.⁵ Among the Valakhs of Acarnania butter or, sometimes, honey is offered to the bride, who smears the door with it, "thus indicating that her arrival will bring into the house sweetness and joy."⁶ Moffet wrote in the seventeenth century:—"English People, when the Bride comes from Church, are wont to cast Wheat upon her Head, and the Grecians to anoint the Door-posts with fat Lard; so when their Brides and Bridegrooms return homeward from Church, one presents them, as presaging Plenty, and Abundance of all good things, with a Pot of Butter."⁷ In some parts of Sweden the bride on the same occasion ran into the larder, and drank some milk and ate some food, so that there should

¹ *Ibid.* p. 201 sq.

² *Ibid.* p. 204.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 201, 205-207, 221. For a similar practice in Algeria see Villot, *Mœurs, coutumes et institutions des indigènes de l'Algérie*, p. 105.

⁴ Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 356 sqq. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 80.

⁵ Cf. Fowler, *Religious Experience of the Roman People*, pp. 83, 90.

⁶ Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie*, p. 278. For a very similar custom in Rumania see Flachs, *Rumänische Hochzeits- und Totengebräuche*, p. 37 sq.

⁷ Moffet, *op. cit.* p. 218.

always be plenty of milk and food in the house.¹ In Nerike, in the same country, the bride must always have a little to eat while she is dressed, in order that she shall never be without food.² In Esthonia beer is wilfully wasted and spilt about at the wedding meal, so that superfluity may house with the happy pair.³ Among some of the Little Russians, on the return of bride and bridegroom from church, the bride's mother sprinkles the bridegroom three times with wheat and evergreen, puts some wool at his chest, offers him two cakes, and smears his mouth three times with honey, saying, "May your life become as sweet as the honey, may you become as rich as the sheep and as warm as the wool."⁴

Honey or other sweet things are often used in wedding ceremonies, in order to make the marriage happy.⁵ Among the Ruthenians of Bukovina the face of the bride is smeared with honey, or sugar is thrown into her bosom, so that her future shall be sweet.⁶ In Bulgaria one of the women anoints the bridegroom's face with honey, saying, "Be fond of each other as the bees are fond of the honey."⁷ In Rhodes, on arriving at the new dwelling which constitutes the dowry of the bride, the husband dips his finger in a cup of honey and traces a cross over the door, while those present cry aloud, "Be good and sweet as this honey is!"⁸ In the neighbourhood of Sparta, when the couple arrive at their new home, the bridegroom's mother stands waiting at the door holding a glass of honey in her hand. From this glass the bride must drink, that the words of her lips may become sweet as honey; while the lintel of the door is smeared with the remainder, that strife may never enter in.⁹

¹ Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 277. Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 116.

² Djurklou, *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folklif*, p. 48.

³ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 38. ⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 45.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 106, 107 (Slovaks), 135 (Serbs). Hartknoch, *op. cit.* p. 180 (old Prussians). Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 118 (Armenians). v. Seidlitz, 'Die Abchasen,' in *Globus*, lxvi. 41. Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 22 (Cretans). Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 146 (Albanians). Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 74 sqq. (Sicilians).

⁶ Kalndl, *loc. cit.* pp. 163, 284. See also *ibid.* p. 285.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 144. ⁸ Rodd, *op. cit.* p. 99. ⁹ *Ibid.* p. 95 sq.

There are marriage rites that have reference to the particular position of the husband and the wife. Among the South Australian Narrinyeri the girl is said to signify her consent to the marriage by making a fire for her husband.¹ The Negroes of Loango contract their marriages by the bridegroom's eating from two dishes which the bride has cooked for him in his own hut.² Among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur "the bride goes to a stream or well near by with her pitcher, and, having filled it, raises it aloft on her head, steadying it with her hand. The bridegroom comes behind as she turns homewards, and, resting his hand on her shoulder, shoots an arrow along the path in front of her, through the loophole formed by her uplifted arm. The bride then walks on to where the arrow lies and picks it up with her foot, still balancing the pitcher on her head. Transferring it gracefully to her hand, she restores it to the bridegroom, thus showing that she can perform her domestic duties well, with hand and foot at his service. He, in turn, by shooting the arrow in front of her, has shown his ability to protect her and clear her path of any danger that may beset it."³ This rite, however, may originally have had a different meaning; the shooting of an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm may be either a rite of impregnation or a mode of ensuring a safe delivery. We know that an arrow is sometimes regarded as the symbol of an embryo. In an ancient Hindu rite the husband fastened an arrow to his wife, after saying to her:—"May a male embryo enter thy womb, as an arrow the quiver; may a man be born here, a son after ten months."⁴ And among the polyandric Todas the husband who is to be the putative father of the first child presents the wife with a bow and arrow in or about the seventh month of her pregnancy,⁵

¹ Taplin, *Folklore, &c. of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 35. *Idem*, 'Narrinyeri,' in Woods, *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 12.

² Soyaux, *Aus West-Afrika*, p. 161.

³ Bradley-Birt, *op. cit.* p. 50 sq. The same ceremony has been described by Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 194 sq.

⁴ *Hymns of the Atharva-Veda*, pp. 97, 356. *Grihya-Sûtras*, i. 45.

⁵ Rivers, *Todas*, p. 319 sqq. Breeks, *Account of the Primitive Tribes and Monuments of the Nilagiris*, p. 19.

which certainly looks like a delivery rite.¹ Moreover arrows are used at weddings to dispel evil spirits.² In East Mallicolo in the New Hebrides, again, the bridegroom at the wedding sticks a poisoned arrow into the mat the bride has about her shoulders ; this is said to signify that " he has the power of life and death over her, and also that he must defend her with his life."³ Among the East African Wafipa the bridegroom boxes the bride's ear and puts into her mouth a small piece of wood or some straw ; by the former act he shows that she will have to obey him, by the latter that it is his duty to support her.⁴

In Morocco the bridegroom tries in various ways to gain power over his wife. For this purpose, I was told, he taps her three or seven times on her head or shoulder with his sword,⁵ or beats her three times between her shoulders with the cord of his dagger,⁶ or smacks or kicks her gently,⁷ or drinks first from a bowl which he then holds for her to drink from.⁸ In Croatia the bridegroom boxes the bride's ears in order to indicate that henceforth he is her master.⁹ In Russia, as part of the marriage ceremony, the father took a new whip, and after striking his daughter gently with it, told her that he did so for the last time, and then presented the whip to the bridegroom.¹⁰ Among many Slavonic peoples the bridegroom gently beats the bride three times,¹¹ " as a sign that she owes him obedience," or in order that she shall forget her earlier sweethearts and be afraid of her husband.¹² It is also the custom for the bride to pull off

¹ Cf. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, ii. 256 sqq. ; iv. 259 sq.

² See *infra*, ii. 499.

³ Paton, quoted by Serbelov, ' Social Position of Men and Women among the Natives of East Malekula,' in *American Anthropologist*, N.S. xv. 278. ⁴ Fromm, ' Ufipa,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 97.

⁵ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 235, 244, 256.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 250, 256.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 158, 159, 162, 242, 256.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 232.

⁹ Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 385.

¹⁰ Meiners, *Vergleichung des ältern und neuern Russlandes*, ii. 167 sq.

¹¹ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 41, 145, 149. Kaindl, *loc. cit.* p. 285 (Huzuls of Bukovina).

¹² Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 83, 19. See also *ibid.* p. 45 ; Volkov, in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 562.

the bridegroom's boots,¹ and in Russia the bridegroom formerly used to beat the bride on the head with the boot-leg to show that she now was in his power and had to obey him ; but among the Slovenes the bride nowadays beats the bridegroom with the boot-leg, so as to make him understand that she is not always going to pull off his boots.² In some parts of Galicia the bride is seated on a yoke when the bridegroom puts on her the head-gear which she is to wear as a married woman, and she protests by throwing it off twice.³ Among the Hindus an ox-yoke is brought in, and a cord, supposed to represent one which is placed round the neck of an ox when it is yoked, is tied round the wrist of the bride by the bridegroom. The yoke is then held over the bride in such a manner that one of the holes in it shall come right over her head. As our informant observes, it is easy to see the significance of this ceremony.⁴

On the other hand, there are also rites that are intended to make the husband considerate or subject to his wife. Among the Brahmans of Eastern Bengal the bride's mother " places a weaver's shuttle between the young man's hands, and binds him hand and foot to symbolise the fetters he has imposed upon himself, and he then indicates his humility in the situation by bleating like a sheep " ; and the bride " lays upon his lips a padlock and turns the key, so showing that the door of unkind speech has been closed."⁵ Among the Chukmas, when the cloth with which the couple have been bound together is loosened, " both spring up, and if the wife is first on her feet she will always possess unbounded influence over the affections of her husband."⁶ In many parts of Germany, when the priest joins the hands of the couple, the bride tries, in a literal sense, to get the upper hand, the bridegroom trying to do the same, and often a struggle of hands ensues, which is sometimes settled by the priest placing the man's hand uppermost ; and one of the pair, generally the bride, also tries, for the same purpose, to put the foot on the top of the foot of the other

¹ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 13, 42, 107, 128, 175.

² *Ibid.* p. 175.

³ *Ibid.* p. 47.

⁴ Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 106.

⁵ Mary Billington, *op. cit.* p. 75 sq.

⁶ Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 97.

party.¹ In Wärmland, in Sweden, the bride must endeavour to see the bridegroom before he sees her, and to sit down first in the bridal chair, so as to have the mastery ;² and in many parts of Sweden³ and in Swedish-speaking communities in Finland⁴ she, for the same purpose, tries to place her foot before his during the nuptial ceremony. In Pelling, in Finland, the bride's mother, on the same occasion, used to throw her daughter's skirt over the heels of the bridegroom, if she wanted her to rule over him.⁵ Among the Slovenes the bride endeavours during the nuptial ceremony or at the wedding dinner to put her knee on the skirt of the bridegroom's coat so as to become the ruler,⁶ and this custom is also found in Würtemberg.⁷ Among the Great Russians, when a glass of brandy has been offered to the bridegroom and another glass to the bride, each of them tries to pour a little of the brandy into the other's glass, and it is believed that the one who first succeeds in doing so will have more influence and power in the married life.⁸ In Wales the bride should always buy something as soon as she is married, and before the bridegroom can make

¹ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 87 sq. Woeste, 'Aberglaube und Gebräuche in Südwestfalen,' in *Jahrbuch d. Vereins f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, 1877, p. 136. Temme, *Die Volkssagen der Altmark*, p. 73. Tetzner, 'Die Drawehner im hannöverschen Wendlande um das Jahr 1766,' in *Globus*, lxxxi. 372. Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 282. There is a similar scramble with the feet for the mastery in the household at Esthonian (Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 28) and Jewish weddings (Grunwald, in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii. 342).

² Fernow, *op. cit.* p. 254.

³ *Ibid.* p. 254. Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 276. Rääf, *op. cit.* p. 112. Djurklou, *op. cit.* p. 49. Lithberg, 'Bröllops seder på Gottland,' in *Fataburen*, 1907, p. 173. For other methods by which Swedish brides try to obtain the mastery see Rääf, p. 114.

⁴ Allardt, *Nyländska folkseder och bruk*, p. 24. Tegengren, 'Magi och vidskepelse, hänförande sig till trolovning, bröllop o.s.v. (Från Österbotten),' in *Hembygden*, iii. 41.

⁵ Lindroos and Andersson, 'Ett bröllop i Pelling, Borgå skärgård, för 100 år tillbaka,' in *Hembygden*, 1910, p. 157.

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 113. Franzisci, *Cultur-Studien über Volksleben, Sitten und Bräuche in Kärnten*, p. 69.

⁷ Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. 1803.

⁸ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 12.

a purchase. "Then she'll be master for life!" say the old women.¹

In Morocco, too, the bride in various ways tries to make herself the ruler. For this purpose she mounts the ram which is to be slaughtered for the occasion when she is painted with henna and boxes its ears, the ram representing the husband ;² she hangs on it a necklace to make him weak and harmless like a woman ; and when its stomach has been removed, she puts her right foot on it.³ She is washed seated on a weaving-stool and a pack-saddle, the riding of the latter being supposed to give her power over her husband.⁴ She tries to smack the bridegroom when he, together with two other men, is running through the tent, so as to become his mistress.⁵ She waves her right slipper seven times towards the door of the nuptial chamber when she hears his steps outside ;⁶ or she throws at him one of her slippers when he enters ;⁷ or she beats him three times on his body with her slipper when he is going to have connection with her, though in this case it is said that she will be the ruler of the house only if he cries out, whereas otherwise he will rule over her.⁸

We must not presume, however, that all these and similar rites are practised for the purpose, or the sole purpose, of gaining mastery ; and even when a rite is so now, it may very well have originated in a different idea. We shall see that bride and bridegroom are also beaten for purificatory purposes ; and this may be the case even when the bride is beaten by the bridegroom, or the bridegroom by the bride. In the Hiâina in Morocco the bridegroom, being alone with the bride, gently slaps her on her forehead and shoulders with the flat of his sword, "so as to expel evil spirits" ;⁹ whilst among the Kabyles of Algeria, according to Hanoteau and Letourneux, "le mari, avant de la conduire à sa couche, la frappe légèrement trois fois sur les épaules, avec le dos

¹ Marie Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 274.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 146, 157, 158, 355.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 158, 355 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 151, 356.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 198, 199, 356.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 235, 256, 356.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 244, 256, 356.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 252, 256, 257, 356.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 237.

d'un sabre ou d'un poignard, pour conjurer les effets du mauvais œil."¹ At Demnat, in the Great Atlas, again, the bride beats the bridegroom sometimes with a piece of rock-salt,² which is much feared by the spirits, and sometimes with her slipper ;³ and this certainly suggests that the slipper ceremonies mentioned above as means of getting power over the other partner may at the same time be, or have been, methods of purification.

¹ Hanoteau and Letourneux, *La Kabylie et les coutumes kabyles*, ii. 219.

² Saïd Boulifa, *Textes berbères en dialecte de l'Atlas marocain*, p. 19.

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 258.

CHAPTER XXV

MARRIAGE RITES

(Continued)

BESIDES marriage rites which are supposed to confer positive benefits upon bride or bridegroom or both, there are others that are intended to protect them from evil influences or to rid them of such influences, that is, prophylactic or cathartic rites. There is a very general feeling or idea that bride and bridegroom are in a state of danger, being particularly exposed to other persons' magical tricks or evil looks, or to the attacks of evil spirits, or to some impersonal mysterious cause of evil, which the Moors call *l-bas*, and therefore are standing in particular need of protection or purification. Moreover, the bride is considered to be not only herself in danger but also a source of danger to others.¹ Customs that have direct reference to her may therefore at the same time be looked upon as safeguards against evils which threaten the bridegroom—as is evidently the case with various rites which immediately precede the consummation of the marriage²—and also other persons less intimately connected with her. Purificatory ceremonies are thus of frequent occurrence on the bride's arrival at the bridegroom's place.

In my book on 'Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco' I have pointed out that a very large proportion of the marriage

¹ See, e.g., Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 41 sq.; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 79.

² See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 325.

rites practised in that country are meant to serve a prophylactic or cathartic purpose,¹ and the same is evidently the case in many other countries as well.² In the present connection it will be impossible to give anything like a full account of practices belonging to this class of rites.

Sometimes care is taken to shut out evil influences from the place where the marriage is celebrated. Thus in Russia all doors, windows, and even the chimney, are closed at a wedding, to prevent malicious witches from flying in and hurting the bride and bridegroom.³ Very frequently guns are fired off at a wedding,⁴ and in many cases at least the object of this is, or has been, to dispel evil spirits or other evil influences; and the same may be said of the terrific noise or loud music which so often forms a part of the marriage ritual.⁵ Among the Siberian Yukaghir some relatives of either of the parties, following the train of sledges, "shoot their guns on both sides to drive away the evil spirits that might attempt to attack the bride"; this is termed "shooting into the eyes of the evil spirits."⁶ In Morocco, on the

¹ See *ibid.* p. 321 *sqq.* and the references in the foot-notes.

² See, e.g., Fra Paolino da S. Bartolomeo, *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali*, p. 209; Atkinson, 'Notes on the History of Religion in the Himálaya of the N. W. Provinces,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. liii. pt. i. 95; Sarat Chandra Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' *ibid.* vol. lxii. pt. iii. 18; Stewart Lockhart, 'Marriage Ceremonies of the Manchus,' in *Folk-Lore*, i. 487.

³ Ralston, *op. cit.* p. 381.

⁴ Samter, 'Hochzeitsbräuche,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. 140 *sq.* Clozel and Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 309. Tessmann, *Die Pangwe*, ii. 261. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 267. Baumann, *Usambara*, p. 134 (Wabondei).

⁵ On the making of noise for the purpose of frightening away evil spirits see Samter, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. 139 *sqq.*; *Idem*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 58 *sqq.*; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 71, 72, 84; Feilberg, 'Hochzeitsschüsse, Neujahrsschüsse,' in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* iv. 172, 287 *sq.* In country villages in Burma, "on the night of the marriage a band of the young bachelors of the place come and shower stones and sticks on the roof of the house where the happy couple are" (Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 58).

⁶ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 94.

occasion when the bridegroom is painted with henna, the constant firing of guns, the loud music, and the peculiar noise called *zghârūt* made by women, especially the one who keeps hold of the bridegroom's hood, obviously serve the purpose of purifying the atmosphere and frightening away evil spirits by the noise, and, in the case of the powder-play, also by the smell of powder, of which the *jnūn* (jinn) are believed to be much afraid.¹ So also, when the bride is taken to her new home, guns are repeatedly fired off in front of the animal on which she rides, and there is again loud music and *zghârūt*,² and the same is repeated on her arrival; on the latter occasion the purificatory or protective character of the firing of guns is particularly obvious when it is done so close to the bride that she is enwrapped in the smoke, or when a shot is fired inside the room which she is going to occupy.³ Gun-fire is a frequent practice at country weddings in Europe, and sometimes it is expressly said to drive away evil spirits.⁴ In rural parts of the County of Durham the bridal party is escorted to church by men armed with guns, which they fire again and again close to the ears of bride and bridesmaids; and at Guisborough in Cleveland guns are fired over the heads of the newly-married couple all the way from church.⁵ In Germany there is much shooting and noise-making on the night before the wedding (*Polterabend*) and on the way to church.⁶ Among Slavonic

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 122 sq.

² *Ibid.* p. 188.

³ *Ibid.* p. 218. On the firing of guns, the loud music and singing, and the *zghârūt* of women at weddings in Morocco, see *ibid.* p. 322 nn. 10-13.

⁴ Feilberg, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* iv. 171-175, 274 sqq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 43 sqq. In Languedoc, when bride and bridegroom leave for church "on tire . . . force coups de pistolet dans le but d'éloigner les mauvais génies" (Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.* ii. 36).

⁵ Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 38. Cf. Marie Balfour, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. Northumberland, p. 92; Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 91 sq.

⁶ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 71, 72, 84. Of the terrific shooting at a Swedish country wedding in former days a vivid description is given in *Byskomakaren Jonas Stotts minnen från 1820-talet*, p. 86.

peoples the wedding guests make a terrific uproar outside the bridal chamber while the marriage is being consummated.¹

Other weapons are used for a similar purpose.² At a wedding in ancient India a Brahman shot arrows into the air, saying, "I pierce the eye of the demons which are sneaking around this bride."³ Among the Oráons, "when the bride first leaves her parents' home for her husband's, her father puts an iron-headed arrow into her hands. The girl carries it to prevent the evil spirits of her parents' village from following her."⁴ Among the Manchus, before the bride is taken out of her sedan chair on arriving at the bridegroom's house, the latter fires three arrows at the blinds.⁵ Among the Bechuanas the bridegroom throws an arrow into the hut before he enters to take his bride.⁶ As we have seen before, however, the use of arrows at weddings may serve other than prophylactic purposes.⁷

In Morocco, again, it is the custom for the bridegroom to carry a sword, dagger, or pistol, and on the occasion when he is painted with henna swords are crossed over his head or in front of him to ward off *jnūn*, who are afraid of steel and, especially, of weapons made of this metal. So also swords are sometimes crossed over the head of the bride at her henna-ceremony, and she, too, may carry a dagger. And in order to drive away evil spirits or other evil influences, the bridegroom sends his sword in advance to be put on the bridal bed, or puts it there himself, or hangs it on the wall, or lays a pistol underneath the pillow.⁸ In other Muhammadan countries there are in the bridal

¹ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 130, 131, 175. See *supra*, ii. 461.

² Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 41 sqq. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 323 sqq. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 521 sq.

³ Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 60.

⁴ Sarat Chandra Roy, *Oráons of Chôtā Nāgpur*, p. 363 sq.

⁵ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 487.

⁶ Conder, 'Present Condition of the Native Tribes in Bechuana-land,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvi. 83.

⁷ *Supra*, ii. 490 sq.

⁸ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 123, 162, 255, 322 nn. 16-18.

procession two men with drawn swords escorting the bride ;¹ and from the ' Song of Solomon ' it appears that the bridal procession of a Hebrew wedding also contained armed men, holding their swords upon their thighs " because of fear in the night." ² Among high-caste Hindus of the Punjab " the bridegroom always carries an iron weapon with him to drive away the evil spirits which haunt him, especially at the marriage ceremony." ³ At Maratha marriages, while bride and bridegroom are standing in the baskets filled with unhusked wheat, the maternal uncles of each, or any other fit persons, stand behind them with naked swords in their hands. ⁴ Among the Bhils of Central India the bridegroom touches the " marriage-shed " with a sword. ⁵ In Bombay he keeps a dagger in his hand day and night, from the beginning to the end of the marriage rites, for the purpose of averting evil spirits. ⁶ Among certain castes in the Central Provinces of India the bridegroom's mother passes in front of him, or touches him, with a pestle in order to keep off or drive away such spirits, either when he starts for his wedding or when the newly-married couple return to his house. ⁷ At Foochow, in China, the black sedan in which the bride is carried to her parents on the third day after her marriage has painted upon the outside a charm consisting of a picture of a grim-looking man sitting on a tiger, with one of his hands raised up, holding a sword, as if in the act of striking. The object of this charm " is to

¹ Mornand, *La Vie arabe*, p. 58 (Constantine, in Algeria). Van-Lennep, *Bible Lands*, p. 551 (Palestine). Lynch, *Narrative of the United States' Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, p. 448 (Jaffa).

² *Song of Solomon*, iii. 6 sqq. Cf. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 45.

³ Maya Das, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 98. See also Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv. (Punjab) Report, p. 274.

⁴ Shastri, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 99.

⁵ Kincaid, ' Bheel Tribes of the Vindhyan Range,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* ix. 401.

⁶ Munshi, in *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. 125.

⁷ Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iv. 284 (Naodas), 407 (Rājghars).

keep off evil and unpropitious influences from her. It is said that, in former times, whenever a new bride in her chair passed by a certain place, evil spirits would invariably approach and injure her, causing her to be sick."¹ In Armenia, where bride and bridegroom are believed to be particularly exposed to evil influences both at and after the wedding ceremony, they carry as talismans a locked door-lock and a closed clasp-knife; they are, further, constantly attended by a man armed with a sword for their protection, and whenever they pass through a door their guardian makes a cross with the sword over the lintel, since doorways are thought to be the abode of spirits.² Or, according to another account, a sword is offered to the bridegroom, who, standing at the door of the house, lets the bride enter underneath it.³ In Zante the bridegroom, entering the church, stuck his dagger in the door as an antidote to enchantment, since it was a common practice to bewitch bridegrooms to make them impotent.⁴ In some parts of Bulgaria it was formerly the custom for the *dever* to guard the couple with a sword in his hand while the marriage was consummated.⁵ In various parts of Germany the bridesmen protect the bride with drawn swords.⁶ According to a Netherlandish belief, a bride who desires to have good luck and prosperity in her wedded state must, on coming out of the church, enter her house under two sabres laid crosswise over the door.⁷ In some parts of Esthonia two swords were stuck into the wall over the place where the bride and bridegroom sat, and it was believed that the one whose sword kept up the longest vibration would live longest.⁸ In France, in the seventeenth century, the couple had on the wedding day to

¹ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 94 sq.

² Abeghian, *Der armenische Volksglaube*, p. 91.

³ Bodenstedt, quoted by Löbel, *Hochzeitsbräuche in der Türkei*, p. 118.

⁴ Sandys, *op. cit.* p. 7.

⁵ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 149.

⁶ Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, p. 177. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 83. Sepp, *Völkerbrauch bei Hochzeit, Geburt und Tod*, p. 56 sq. Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, ii. 376.

⁷ Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, iii. 330.

⁸ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 35 sq.

pass under two drawn swords forming an Andrew's cross.¹ In Normandy, when the bridegroom joined the bride in the marriage chamber, one of his friends cracked a whip in order to drive away the evil spirits who might otherwise molest the couple.²

In some tribes in Morocco a needle in the right slipper of the bride, or of the bridegroom as well, is used as a charm against evil spirits or witchcraft.³ Various other charms against *jinūn* are worn by them,⁴ and salt, which is regarded as a powerful safeguard against those spirits, is in very frequent use at Moorish weddings.⁵ It is also used on such occasions in India,⁶ Germany,⁷ France,⁸ Scotland,⁹ Slavonic countries,¹⁰ and elsewhere,¹¹ and is in some cases said to serve as a charm against witchcraft, evil spirits, or the evil eye.

In Morocco incense is burnt, to dispel evil spirits, or "to please the spirits of the place."¹² But the most important of all prophylactic or cathartic rites at Moorish weddings is the custom of painting the bride and bridegroom with henna, a colouring matter produced from the leaves of the *Lawsonia inermis*, or Egyptian privet, which is considered to contain much *baraka*, or benign virtue, and is therefore used as a means of purification or protection on occasions when people think they are exposed to supernatural dan-

¹ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 470.

² de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 240.

³ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 150, 162, 237, 256, 290.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 104, 105, 123, 147, 162, 163, 290.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 123, 162, 187, 256, 322 n. 14.

⁶ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 23.

⁷ Sartori, 'Der Schuh im Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, iv. 172. Schell, 'Das Salz im Volksglauben,' *ibid.* xv. 146. Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 76.

⁸ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 447. Tuchmann, 'La fascination,' in *Mélusine*, vii. 234.

⁹ Simpkins, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vii. Fife, p. 163. Tuchmann, *loc. cit.* p. 235.

¹⁰ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 35, 86.

¹¹ Tremearne, *Hausa Superstitions and Customs*, p. 84.

¹² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 235, 237, 244, 255, 305.

gers, as, for example, at religious feasts.¹ The henna is applied to the bride's hands and feet, occasionally also to her legs below the knees, her arms, face, and hair; and she is thus painted either privately or publicly, sometimes on two festive occasions, but in most tribes in the presence of women and children only. The bridegroom, again, has the henna applied sometimes to the palm or fingers or little finger of his right hand, sometimes to both hands, and sometimes to his feet as well; the act is mostly performed before the arrival of the bride, in some cases privately but more often publicly, and may be repeated more than once.² These rites are extremely prevalent in the Muhammadan world, particularly the custom of painting the bride.³

It is also a widespread custom among Muhammadans that the bridegroom has a bath before meeting the bride; and the bride also is purified by bathing or water-pouring, to which, in Morocco, much importance is attached by townsmen.⁴ At Fez, five days before the wedding, she goes in the afternoon to the hot bath, accompanied by some women of her family, one of whom carries a candlestick with a wax candle. When they enter the bath the candle is lighted, and the women make *zghârît*—obviously to ward off *jnûn*, who are generally supposed to be haunting the hot baths. The same ceremony is again repeated on the following two days. On the latter of these occasions, that is, three days before the wedding, seven buckets of lukewarm water are poured over the girl by seven women, "so that she shall have no quarrel with her husband," in accordance with the saying, *L-mā āmān u sh-sharr mā kān*, "The water is safety and quarrel there is none." This ceremony is called *taqbīb*, which means "pouring." According to Arabic writers,

¹ Westermarck, 'Popular Ritual of the Great Feast in Morocco,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxii. 132 sqq.

² *Idem*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, ch. iii. sq.; see particularly pp. 118, 119, 160 sq.

³ For their prevalence see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 118 n. 1, 160 n. 1.

⁴ For these customs in Morocco see my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 120, 161, 162, 321 n. 9, and among Muhammadans elsewhere *ibid.* pp. 120 n. 2, 161 n. 3.

"it is a sunneh ordinance that the bride wash her feet in a clean vessel, and sprinkle the water in the corners of the chamber, that a blessing may result from this."¹ At Tunis, when the bride has arrived at the bridegroom's place, a woman sometimes washes her feet; "c'est un rite de purification au moment où elle pénètre dans un nouveau foyer."² Among the Bedouins of Sinai the girl is on her betrothal sprinkled with the blood of a sheep sacrificed for the occasion, and remains for three days in the tent erected for her in front of her father's habitation; at the end of this period "she is conducted by a procession of women to 'a spring of living water' (that is, a perennial spring), and after performing her ablutions is led home to the house of her husband."³ In his description of the marriage customs of the Jews, particularly those of Morocco, Addison says that the bride bathes daily for eight days before the wedding.⁴

Among the ancient and modern Hindus, as also among other Indo-European peoples, it has been, or still is, considered an essential preparation for a wedding that the bride, or frequently the bridegroom also, should have a bath.⁵ In the Atharva-Veda there are prayers referring to the bath of the bride, and priests are requested to fetch the water for the bath, that it may be auspicious for the welfare of the future husband.⁶ Among the Parsees bride and bridegroom take a sacred bath in the morning and afternoon of the marriage day, and formerly it was the custom for their feet to be washed after the marriage ceremony.⁷ In Persia, when the bridegroom has entered the bridal chamber, "a

¹ Lane, *Arabian Society in the Middle Ages*, p. 234.

² Bertholon and Chantre, *Recherches anthropologiques dans la Berbérie orientale*, i. 579.

³ Palmer, *Desert of the Exodus*, p. 90. ⁴ Addison, *op. cit.* p. 46.

⁵ Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, i. 208. Haas, *loc. cit.* pp. 198, 278, 294 sqq., 304, 381, 382, 411. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 43 sqq. *Idem*, in *Transactions*, p. 274 sq. Grierson, *op. cit.* p. 370 (Hindus of Bihār). Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 103 (Hindus of South India). de Gubernatis, *op. cit.* p. 139 sqq. (peoples in Europe and India).

⁶ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 274 sq.

⁷ Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 'Marriage (Zoroastrian),' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 455 sq.

basin and ewer and water . . . are brought, and the right leg of the bride and the left leg of the bridegroom are placed together and washed, and their hands also in the same manner."¹ In ancient Greece, on the wedding day, bride and bridegroom bathed in water drawn from a particular fountain of running water, which at Athens was the fountain Callirrhoë;² and in modern Greece the bride's bath still forms part of the nuptials.³ In Rumania the bride must bathe in running water, although in the winter the water may be brought into the house from the nearest brook.⁴ In Sweden it was formerly the custom for the bride to have a bath before she was dressed.⁵ Among several Slavonic peoples, especially the Great Russians, the bride has a bath on the day before the wedding, and among the Serbs flowers are thrown into the water.⁶ Among the old Prussians the bride's feet were washed in the bridegroom's house after she had been taken round the fire, and the water was afterwards sprinkled over the guests, the bridal bed, the cattle, and the whole house.⁷ In Cromarty the bride has her feet washed on the day before the wedding, money is put into the water, and when she sits with her feet in the basin or tub, her girl friends scramble for the coin.⁸ In the north-east of Scotland, on the evening before the marriage, there was the ceremony of "feet-washing": a few of the bridegroom's most intimate friends assembled at his house, a large tub was brought forward and nearly filled with water, and the groom was stripped of shoes and stockings and his feet and legs were plunged in the water.⁹ The same custom prevailed in Northumberland, and there the bride, too, had her feet washed though in a more private way.¹⁰

¹ *Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia*, trans. by Atkinson, p. 43.

² Becker-Göll, *Charikles*, iii. 364. Thucydides, *Historia belli Peloponnesiaci*, ii. 15.

³ Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 13.

⁴ Flachs, *op. cit.* p. 30.

⁵ Norlind, *Gamla bröllopseder hos svenska allmogen*, p. 68.

⁶ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 7, 178 sq.

⁷ Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neues Preussen*, p. 179 sq.

⁸ Ashton-Rigby, 'Marriage Customs in Cromarty,' in *Folk-Lore*, xxvii. 433.

⁹ Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 89 sq.

¹⁰ Balfour, *op. cit.* p. 92.

Marriage rites of a similar kind are also found among some backward races. In South Celebes the bride and bridegroom bathe in holy water, and the bride is besides fumigated.¹ In some tribes of Northern Rhodesia the bride is carried to a stream on the shoulders of an old woman and is there immersed, and the bridegroom is also bathed at the stream.² Among the Edo-speaking peoples of Nigeria, on the arrival of the bride at her new home, the bridegroom brings water in a basin, a member of the bride's family washes her hands, and the bridegroom wipes them with a towel.³ In Egbaland, a division of Yorubaland in Southern Nigeria, before the bride enters the bridegroom's home, some of his relatives wash her feet in gin and water, "to signify that she enters her husband's house purified."⁴ There may, no doubt, be other than superstitious reasons for the bathing or washing of bride and bridegroom, but the ceremonial character of the act certainly suggests a purificatory object. And so do other water ceremonies so frequently connected with weddings.

In a Berber tribe in the Great Atlas, when the bride is taken to her new home, the procession first goes to a river, which the bride crosses on her mule three times to and fro, while the others are waiting on the bank.⁵ It is a frequent custom in Morocco that when she arrives at the bridegroom's place purifying substances, like milk, water, and henna, are offered her or sprinkled on her; and although the sprinkling of water sometimes is said to bring about rain, I have no doubt that the primary object of the rite is purification.⁶ In Andjra the bridegroom, on entering the room where the bride is waiting for him, takes a new bottle filled with water and a new bowl, brought there among other articles from the bride's house, goes to the four corners

¹ Matthes, *op. cit.* p. 21.

² Gouldsbury and Sheane, *Great Plateau of Northern Rhodesia*, p. 160 sq.

³ Thomas, *Anthropological Report on the Edo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 48.

⁴ Partridge, 'Native Law and Custom in Egbaland,' in *Jour. African Soc.* x. 426.

⁵ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 185.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 215, 216, 217, 326 nn. 11-13, 347 sq.

of the room, and sprinkles a little water in each corner, takes hold of the bride's hands, first one and then the other, and dips the tips of her fingers into the water which he has poured out into the bowl. He drinks from the bowl and then holds it for the bride to drink from; and touching her temples with the thumb and middle finger of his right hand he recites the "*sūra* of the *jinn*." In the *Hiána*, in the same country, on the fortieth day after the bride's arrival at her new home, her sister-in-law, or some other unmarried girl who lives in the house, sprinkles water over her and puts on her a pair of new slippers and a new girdle instead of the old ones, which she has been wearing since her wedding; and I was told that the object of this ceremony is to remove her *bas*, or evil. The *Shi'ahs* have a tradition that the Prophet, before he gave his daughter in marriage to 'Alī, commanded her to fetch water and then sprinkled both her and 'Alī with it, invoking God to protect them and their offspring against the devil.¹

In ancient Rome it was the custom to receive a bride "with water and fire"—*aqua et igni accipere*;² and water ceremonies of some sort or other have been, or still are, practised at weddings in many other European countries,³ as also in ancient⁴ and modern⁵ India. In Epirus two children, whose parents are alive, sprinkle bride and bridegroom with water when they enter their new home, apparently—we are told—as a protection against witchcraft.⁶ In Albania, when the bridegroom comes to fetch the bride,

¹ Goldziher, 'Wasser als Dämonen abwehrendes Mittel,' in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* xiii. 31 sq.

² Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 361 sqq. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 14 sqq.

³ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 133 sqq. Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 171 sq. (Slavs).

⁴ Haas, *loc. cit.* pp. 341, 342, 358, 365, 367, 373.

⁵ Mary Billington, *op. cit.* p. 74 (Brahmans of Eastern Bengal). Hayavadana Rao, in *Anthropos*, v. 794; Hislop, *Papers relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 9 (Gonds). Crooke, 'Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 245. Butler, *Travels and Adventures in the Province of Assam*, p. 83 (Kukis).

⁶ Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 21.

her mother meets him at the door holding in the hand a basin containing clean water, with which she sprinkles the bridegroom.¹ Among the Little Russians the bridal pair are frequently sprinkled with water,² and the same is the case among the Transylvanian Gypsies.³ Among the Southern Slavs a vessel containing water is often offered to the bride on her arrival at the bridegroom's house.⁴ In the Himalaya of the North-Western Provinces the bridegroom asperses his bride with water.⁵ In the Magh tribes of Chittagong an old man sprinkles the couple five or seven times with water, while the groomsman links the right-hand little finger of the bridegroom with the corresponding left-hand finger of the bride.⁶ Among the Tulu people of South Canara "the essential element of the marriage ceremony is *dhāre*, or pouring water over the joined hands of the bride."⁷ Among the Sinhalese a priest pours water upon the bride and bridegroom after they have been joined together with a long piece of cloth,⁸ or throws a little water over their right thumbs, which have been put together.⁹ In Tibet a lama sprinkles the bridal pair with holy water.¹⁰ In Siam "the couple kneel down to be bathed with holy water. The chief elder pours it first over the head of the bridegroom, and then over the head of the bride, at the same time pronouncing a blessing upon them both."¹¹

Among the Aētas of the Philippines the father of the bride throws a cocoanutshell full of water over the pair, who have been made to kneel down; he then bumps their heads together, and they are adjudged man and wife.¹² Throughout Madagascar, at the moment the bride is going to leave her old home, her parents bless her, either by sprinkling the

¹ v. Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 145.

² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 47.

³ Wislocki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 189.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 171.

⁵ Atkinson, in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. liii. pt. i. 98.

⁶ Hutchinson, *op. cit.* p. 119.

⁷ Sturrock, *Madras District Manuals: South Canara*, i. 143.

⁸ Percival, *Account of the Island of Ceylon*, p. 180.

⁹ Joinville, 'Religion and Manners of the People of Ceylon,' in *Asiatick Researches*, vii. 427.

¹⁰ Ahmad Shah, *op. cit.* p. 57.

¹¹ Young, *op. cit.* p. 95.

¹² Reyes Lala, *op. cit.* p. 96.

tips of her fingers with some drops of water, or, as was the custom in ancient times, by projecting on her some drops of saliva or of the blood of an animal sacrificed for this purpose.¹ Among the Matabele, on her arrival at the bridegroom's house, "the bride, who has brought a calabash filled with water, at the bottom of which are strings of beads, pours some of the contents over the bridegroom, and sprinkles his people and his friends with the remainder. She then puts the beads on her head, and placing the calabash on the ground in front of her husband she crushes it with her foot."² Among the New Caledonians of the tribe Belep "les époux qui se marient pour la première fois doivent se soumettre à une cérémonie le matin des deux jours qui suivent leur union, soit légitime, soit illégitime ; sans cela, ils se croiraient exposés à certaines maladies. La personne chargée de cette purification a préparé un petit paquet oblong qui renferme la sciure d'un bois spécial et une eau déterminée ; après avoir placé successivement l'une des extrémités du paquet dans la bouche des époux, elle arrose l'autre extrémité avec l'eau prescrite. La cérémonie accomplie, on enterre près de la case des époux les objets qui ont servi à cette purification."³

Besides water, fire is a frequent means of dispelling evil influences at a wedding. In Morocco burning candles play a prominent part on such occasions, and partly, no doubt, for superstitious reasons ;⁴ for the *jnūn* love darkness and are terrified by light.⁵ At Fez, in former days, the bride was taken to her new home in a wooden cage "with a great noise of trumpets, pipes, and drums, and with a number of torches."⁶ In modern Palestine lanterns and torches are held aloft in front and along the flank of the bridal procession ;⁷ and among the ancient Jews, when the

¹ Grandidier, *op. cit.* ii. 184 sq. ² Deçle, *op. cit.* p. 158 sq.

³ Lambert, *Mœurs et Superstitions des Néo-Calédoniens*, p. 99 sq.

⁴ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 121, 122, 162, 187, 322 n. 8.

⁵ *Idem*, 'Nature of the Arab *Ġinn*, illustrated by the Present Beliefs of the People of Morocco,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxix. 253. *Idem*, *Belief in Spirits in Morocco* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis*, Humaniora, i. no. 1), p. 49.

⁶ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* ii. 450. ⁷ Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551.

bridegroom, attended by a company of young men,¹ brought home his bride from her father's house, the young female friends of both parties joined the train, lighting their torches.² In ancient Greece and Rome the bride was always taken to her new home with torches,³ and in Rome one of these torches was made of whitethorn,⁴ which was believed to keep away evil influences.⁵ In modern Greece the bridal procession is not only headed by torch-bearers, but the bride and bridegroom themselves carry torches.⁶ Brand thinks it doubtful whether the custom of carrying torches in the bridal procession ever prevailed in England, although there are indications that it did ;⁷ but among the Scandinavian peoples torches have played a prominent part at their weddings up to recent times, and, as Troels-Lund observes, their object was no doubt to keep away the powers of darkness.⁸ In Skåne, in the south of Sweden, on the arrival of the bride at her new home, the bridegroom's mother met her holding in the hand a burning candle, and the bride had to touch the flame before she was allowed to enter.⁹ At Clenze in the Hanoverian Wendland the bride was received at the door of her new home by a woman carrying four candles and was then accompanied to all the corners of the house.¹⁰ In the government of Kharkov the bridal pair are received with torches, or pitch and tar are lighted on their arrival.¹¹

At Hindu weddings lights and other objects are waved round the heads of the bride and bridegroom as a protection against evil spirits.¹² Among the Javanese of Surakarta,

¹ *Judges*, xiv. 11.

² *St. Matthew*, xxv. 1 sqq.

³ Sticotti, 'Zu griechischen Hochzeitsgebräuchen,' in *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf*, p. 182. Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 335 sqq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 72 sqq.

⁴ Festus, *op. cit.* p. 245 a.

⁵ Samter, *op. cit.* p. 73 sq.

⁶ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 93.

⁷ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 391.

⁸ Hyltén-Cavallius, *Wärend och Wirdarne*, p. 435 sqq. Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 23 sqq.

⁹ Nicolovius (Lovén), *Folkklifvet i Skytts Härad i Skåne*, p. 146 sq.

¹⁰ Tetzner, 'Die Drahwener im hannöverschen Wendlande um das Jahr 1700,' in *Globus*, lxxx. 271.

¹¹ Pipek, *op. cit.* p. 41.

¹² Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 24.

who believe that newly-wedded pairs are exposed on the first night of their marriage to the injuries and outrages of evil spirits, it is the custom that when the young couple have been in the bridal chamber for about an hour, their friends enter with burning torches and poke about the room with them, as if they were looking for something; this they do to frighten away the demons by the glare of the torches, or at least to disturb and thwart them in their hellish design to turn the couple's love to hate.¹ The wooden vessel which at Foochow, near Canton, is placed on the centre of the bridal bedstead contains among other things a glass lamp filled with oil and two candles, which are lighted and, together with the vessel, are left untouched on the bedstead until they have burned out; "the light of the lamp and of the candles, although in broad daylight, is regarded as peculiarly efficacious in keeping away evil spirits."²

But fire is used at weddings as a means of dispelling evil influences not only on account of its light but because it burns. In Swatow, in China, when the bride arrives at the bridegroom's home, she steps over a flare-up fire on the ground, made by burning a few wisps of dry grass, to be purified from "the contamination of any devils or other dangers that she may have come across on the road";³ whilst at Canton she is placed on the back of a female servant and carried over a slow charcoal fire,⁴ and at Peking the chair in which she is carried to the bridegroom's place is there lifted over a vessel containing glowing charcoal for the purpose of expelling evil influences.⁵ The Manchus, who have the same custom, say that the bride has to pass over a charcoal pan "as a sign that the happy pair will be as brilliant as fire";⁶ but this explanation is evidently an afterthought. Among the White Russians, before a wedding, straw is burned inside the houses of both bride and

¹ Winter, 'Instellingen, gewoonten en gebruiken der Javanen te Soerakarta,' in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indie*, 1843, vol. i. 485. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 521.

² Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 76 sq. See also *ibid.* i. 90 sq.

³ Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 423.

⁴ Gray, *China*, i. 205.

⁵ Grube, quoted by Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 27 sq.

⁶ Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 487.

bridegroom to drive away evil spirits; the bridegroom, when fetching the bride from her home, must ride or drive over a burning fire, and so also the bride, when arriving at the house of her parents-in-law, must pass a fire, into which she throws coins.¹ In North Germany, when a bridal pair are going to church, it is the custom, before they leave the house, to throw a firebrand on the threshold over which they must pass.²

In many parts of Europe and in India the bride, on her arrival at her new home is, or formerly was, taken three times round the fire of the hearth.³ Among the Vedic people the joining of hands was followed by the ceremony of leading the bride round the fire, and the same custom is practised all over India to the present day. In the Grihyasūtras we read that the bridegroom shall lead the bride round the fire so that their right sides are turned to it, that is, from left to right, and the ceremony is to be repeated three times.⁴ In ancient Rome, after the ceremony of the *dextrarum junctio*, a sacrifice was made, and bride and bridegroom walked round the sacrificial altar, likewise from left to right. Among the Croats the bridesman leads the bride three times round the hearth, on which a fire is burning, and each time the bride bows before it.⁵ In many parts of Germany the bride is led three times round the fire by the bridegroom or his mother.⁶

¹ Kupczanko, 'Hochzeitsgebräuche der Weissrussen,' in *Am Urquell*, ii. 138. In some parts of Russia the bridal pair have to pass a burning fire before they leave for the bridegroom's home, generally at the door of the bride's house; and outside the bridegroom's house they also find some burning straw which they have to pass over before they can enter (Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 171).

² Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434.

³ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 127 sqq. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 20 sqq. Haas, *loc. cit.* pp. 316 sqq., 396. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 56 sqq. *Idem*, in *Transactions*, p. 283 sq. Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, i. 11; Padfield, *op. cit.* p. 108 sq. (modern Hindus).

⁴ *Grihya-Sūtras*, i. 168, 283, 384; ii. 46, 191, 260 sq.

⁵ Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 386. Rajacsich, *op. cit.* p. 146.

⁶ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 115. Kuhn and Schwartz, *op. cit.* p. 433. Schell, 'Bergische Hochzeitsgebräuche,' in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, x. 165 sq. Tetzner, in *Globus*, lxxxix. 271.

But in Westphalia she is simply led to the hearth and the tongs are put into her hands to make up the fire ;¹ and the same custom is found in the north-east of Scotland.²

Among the Aith Sáddēn, near Fez, it was formerly, when they lived in tents, the custom for the bridegroom's mother to take the bride to the fireplace ; and among a neighbouring Berber tribe, the Ait Waráin, she not only takes the bride to the hearth but washes her right foot and hand over one of the fire-stones, in order, I was told, that she shall be as permanent in the house as these stones, which the Ait Waráin, unlike many other Berbers, never change. Among the Merinā in Madagascar, when the bridal procession has arrived at the bridegroom's place, it goes three times round the little wall surrounding his house, then three times round the house itself, and at last three times round the fireplace ; this, we are informed, is done to strengthen the ties which attach the young wife to her new home and to prevent her leaving it.³ Among the Koryak, again, "when the bride approaches the house of her bridegroom's parents, the latter come out with fire-brands taken from the hearth to meet her. This reception," Dr. Jochelson adds, "symbolises the acceptance of the bride into the family cult which the hearth represents."⁴ So also the Indo-European rites have been interpreted as aggregation rites. Yet I doubt that these explanations, whether given by the peoples practising the rites or by the writers describing them, disclose their original meaning, at least in full. They seem too similar to other fire rites, which obviously serve a purificatory purpose, to be dissociated from them.⁵ Among the Koryak, when the newly-married couple go to visit the wife's parents, they are also met with fire-brands from the hearth.⁶ At Brackel, near Dortmund in Germany, while the bride is taken

¹ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 284. ² Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 93.

³ Grandidier, *op. cit.* ii. 183.

⁴ Jochelson, *Koryak*, p. 743.

⁵ Of the Vedic rite Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, p. 463) says that it was looked upon as a veneration of Agni, the god of fire. But he adds that it originally seems to have been a magical lustration rite.

⁶ Jochelson, *op. cit.* p. 744.

round the hearth, fire is thrown after her.¹ At Bockum, near Kaiserswerth, she is placed on a chair, and live coals are shovelled underneath it.² And in some cases the circumambulation of the hearth already takes place in the bride's old home.³ How could it in such cases be regarded as an aggregation rite?

The circumambulation does not always take place round the hearth. Among some Southern Slavs the bride is taken three times round the church before she is allowed to enter it.⁴ In the Isle of Man, according to Waldron (who wrote in 1726), when the bridal company arrived at the church-yard, they walked three times round the church before entering;⁵ and in Perthshire, according to Sinclair (who wrote at the end of the same century), they walked round the church after leaving it, keeping the church walls upon the right hand.⁶ In Wärend, in Sweden, it was the custom for the bridal procession, before entering the church, to walk three times round a certain stone outside it, which was therefore called the "bridal stone."⁷ In modern Greece bride and bridegroom are led three times round the altar.⁸ Dr. Winternitz has no doubt that the circumambulation of the church is a survival of an older custom of leading the bride round the sacrificial fire;⁹ and the great antiquity of this rite together with its prevalence among so many Indo-European peoples certainly speaks in favour of his suggestion. In any case the circumambulation of a holy place, like a church or something connected with it, decidedly has the appearance of a cathartic or prophylactic rite. Among the Poles, again, the bridal pair walk three times round the table in the bridegroom's house,¹⁰ and

¹ Woeste, in *Jahrbuch d. Vereins f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, 1877, p. 139.

² Schell, 'Nachträge zu den "Bergischen Hochzeitsgebräuchen,"' in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, x. 430.

³ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 127 sqq. ⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 128.

⁵ Waldron, *Description of the Isle of Man*, p. 60.

⁶ Sinclair, quoted by Brand, *op. cit.* p. 381.

⁷ Hyltén-Cavallius, *op. cit.* ii. 437. ⁸ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 91.

⁹ Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 284.

¹⁰ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 82 sq.

among the Great Russians the bride is taken round it.¹ But among the last-mentioned people the bridegroom is also taken three times round it before he mounts the carriage by which he is going to fetch the bride ;² and among the Little Russians both bride and bridegroom, before leaving for the house of the latter, are taken three times round a bread-trough covered with a blanket with bread and salt on the top of it.³

Circumambulation may by itself be regarded as a safeguard against evil influences, apart from the purifying nature of the place or object round which it is performed. It may serve as a protection for the inhabitants of the place by allowing such influences to evaporate from a dangerous person, or dangerous persons, who are about to enter it, and it may also be a safeguard for the latter by neutralising the danger of entering a strange place.⁴ In Morocco the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's village, is in some cases taken three or seven times (from right to left) round the mosque of the place,⁵ but in other cases round the whole village⁶ or, more often, round the bridegroom's house or tent.⁷ Among the Aith Yúsi, a Berber tribe near Fez, for example, the bride is not allowed to enter the village until she has been taken three times round it ; but if, as is often the case, there are several brides whose weddings are celebrated on the same occasion, they must wait for each other so as to perform this ceremony all together, and if any of them is from that village itself, she also comes out and joins them, riding on a mare. In case there is in the village a woman who was married within a month previously, she leaves the place before the brides are taken round, since it is believed that otherwise all the evil would fall on her. This obviously shows that the rite is supposed to have the effect of ridding the brides of the evil influences which they are carrying with them ; and

¹ *Ibid.* p. 170.

² *Ibid.* p. 170.

³ *Ibid.* p. 170.

⁴ Cf. Hämäläinen, *Mordvalaisten, tšeremissien ja votjakkien kosinta- ja häätavoista*, p. 271.

⁵ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 199, 200, 203, 208, 215.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 196-198, 200, 206, 209, 215. ⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 203, 215.

the same is suggested by the fact that the circumambulation both there and elsewhere in Morocco is connected with other purificatory rites. Among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai the bride, mounted on a camel, is taken three times round the bridegroom's tent, while her companions utter loud exclamations.¹ Professor Séligman informs me that among the Kabābīsh, an Arabic-speaking nomad tribe on the Kordofan-Darfur border, the slave or slaves who bring the bride to the tent where she is going to meet the bridegroom carry her three times round the outside of it.² Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar "*les hommes amènent le marié à la tente. On lui en fait faire le tour trois fois.*"³ Among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, when the bride and bridegroom arrive at the latter's house, they are carried three times round the courtyard, the bridegroom from the right to the left and the bride from the left to the right.⁴ Among the *tundra* Yukaghir, on reaching the tent of the bridegroom's parents, the train of sledges with the bridal pair makes three rounds about the tent.⁵ So also among the Siberian Tartars the bridal company drive three times round the bridegroom's tent; whilst among the Samoyed, Chuvash, and Cheremiss a similar ceremony is performed round the bride's as well as the bridegroom's dwelling.⁶ In some parts of Denmark, when the bridal company come from church to the place where the wedding is held, the bridegroom rides three times round it before he dismounts, or, in the winter, drives his sleigh, in which the bride is sitting with him, three times round the place.⁷ Among the Kilmeni tribe of High Albania the bride is led three times round the bridegroom's house, and subsequently round the hearth.⁸

Among the Berbers of the Aith Sāddēn and Aith Yūsi the bride, after her tour round the bridegroom's tent or

¹ Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, p. 150.

² This fact is mentioned in Professor Séligman's essay 'The Kabābīsh, a Sudan Arab Tribe,' in *Harvard African Studies* (ii. 134), which has been published since the above was written.

³ Benhazera, *Six mois chez les Touareg du Ahaggar*, p. 16.

⁴ Sarat Chandra Roy, *Mundas*, p. 454.

⁵ Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 94. ⁶ Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 270 sq.

⁷ Kristensen, *op. cit.* iv. 69. ⁸ Miss Durham, *High Albania*, p. 86.

village or the mosque in it, beats the tent three times with a cane, as I was told, in order that the evil shall go away from it, or to remove any evil which may be in the bridegroom's family and to expel death from the domestic animals; it would be very unpleasant for the young wife if a child or animal should die shortly after her marriage, as its death would naturally be associated with her presence. But in Morocco bride and bridegroom are also themselves beaten or tapped for purificatory purposes.¹ When the bridegroom gets up after he has been painted with henna, some men who are carrying swords unsheath them to beat him,² or the bachelors who have been standing round him try to beat him gently with their hands or with sticks, while his best-man defends him, beating the aggressors in return; and I was expressly told that this ceremony is calculated to drive away evil influences.³ In Cairo, immediately before the bridegroom enters his house in order to meet the bride, "his friends leave him, but at parting strike him many times with their hands upon his back; these blows he endeavours to avoid by running in as fast as possible."⁴ In ancient India the bridegroom was chaffed or beaten.⁵ In some parts of Germany he is beaten by the wedding-guests, especially the unmarried ones.⁶ Among the White Russians, when the bridal pair have gone to bed and covered themselves up, the bridegroom's best-man beats him three times with his whip, saying, "Look at each other, kiss, and embrace fast!"⁷ A very similar ceremony is found among the Iyca Indians of Colombia: the man who accompanies the pair to the hut in which the marriage is to be consummated says to the bridegroom, "Take the woman"; and then enforces his command by beating him with a small whip, similar to that which, for purificatory purposes, is used at funerals.⁸

The bride, also, may be ceremonially beaten, and not only

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 120, 121, 162, 256-258, 323 n. 7.

² *Ibid.* p. 104.

³ *Ibid.* p. 107 sq.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 116.

⁵ Haas, *loc. cit.* pp. 300, 301, 411.

⁶ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 88 sq. Woeste, *loc. cit.* p. 137.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 64. ⁸ Bolinder, *op. cit.* pp. 252, 254, 255, 258 sq.

by the bridegroom, as in some cases mentioned above. Thus at Amzmiz, in the Atlas, the bride's brother, after he has placed a silver coin in one of his sister's slippers and then put them on her feet, taps her three times with his own slipper;¹ the original object of this ceremony was presumably to drive away evil influences. In Denmark and Sweden it was formerly the custom that all the witnesses or guests at the ceremony of "hand-fasting," when the father of the bride solemnly joined the hands of the couple, afterwards tried to thump both bride and bridegroom on the back.² In France, in the seventeenth century, they were ceremonially struck, with the hand or with a stick, in church after the nuptial ceremony, as Thiers says, "dans la pensée que ces outrages leur produiront quelque bien."³ Mannhardt, who gives many instances of the custom of beating a bridegroom or bride, suggests that its object is to expel evil spirits which might otherwise prevent fecundity.⁴ But there is no reason to think that the rite is intended to expel evil influences merely for the purpose of making the union fruitful. It should, moreover, be remembered that the ceremonial beating of the bride by the bridegroom and of the bridegroom by the bride is, nowadays at least, connected with the idea of gaining power;⁵ whilst the beating of the bridegroom by his bachelor friends may be a ceremonial punishment inflicted on him because he is deserting their class.⁶

Besides marriage rites which are intended to expel evil spirits or other evil influences, there are rites that are intended to safeguard bride or bridegroom by deception. Disguises at marriages are of frequent occurrence,⁷ and

Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 157.

Olaus Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, xiv. 9, 481. Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* ix. 151 sq. ³ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 465.

Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, i. 299 sqq.

Supra, ii. 491, 492, 494. ⁶ See *infra*, ii. 585.

v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 68 sqq. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 371 sq. Farnell, 'Sociological Hypotheses concerning the Position of Women in Ancient Religion,' in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* vii. 75, 89 sq. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 255 sq. Fehrle, *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum*, p. 92. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 91 sqq.

many writers have suggested that their object is to deceive malignant spirits who lie in wait for the young couple.¹

Thus, among some sections of the Brahmans of South India, especially the Tamil sections, the bride is on the fourth day dressed up as a boy, and another girl is dressed up to represent the bride. They are taken in procession through the street, and, on returning, the pseudo-bridegroom is made to speak to the real bridegroom in somewhat insolent tones, and some mock play is indulged in. The real bridegroom is addressed as if he were the groom or clerk of the pseudo-bridegroom, and is sometimes treated as a thief, and judgment is passed on him by the latter. It is also said that on the "shaving day" six months after marriage, in cases where the Brahman bridegroom is a young boy, he is dressed up as a girl, and the bride's party, when they detect the fraud, jeer at him and his relations for having deceived them.²

In ancient Cos, according to Plutarch, the bridegroom was dressed in women's clothes when he received his bride ;³ whilst in Sparta, after the bride had been carried off by her husband, "the bridesmaid received her, cut her hair close to her head, dressed her in a man's cloak and shoes, and placed her upon a couch in a dark chamber," where she had to wait for the entrance of the bridegroom.⁴ Among the Egyptian Jews in the Middle Ages the bridegroom donned feminine attire, whilst the bride wore a helmet and sword in hand, led the procession and the dance.⁵ Among the Swahili, when the guests have arrived at the bridegroom's father's house, the young man is dressed in two fine female garments and is then seated on the bridal bed, which has been placed in the room where the guests are assembled ; and every one of the other young men who

¹ Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, p. 903. Nilsson, *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung*, p. 372. Schwally, *Der heilige Krieg im alten Israel*, p. 76. Reinach, *op. cit.* i. 116. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 93 sqq. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 257. Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 191.

² Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, p. 2 sq.

³ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Graecae*, 58.

⁴ *Idem*, *Lycurgus*, xv. 4.

⁵ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 193.

sits down by his side has to pay a fine.¹ At Fez, when the betrothal of a young man is celebrated in his parents' house, some negresses whose profession is to assist women on festive occasions dress him up as a bride with garments which they have brought with them. He is then placed on cushions on a mattress opposite the door, and sits there with his eyes closed as if he were a bride. After the young man's friends have entered the room, one of the negresses gives him some milk to drink, which is supposed to make his life "white," and another, with a plate of dates in her hand, puts into his mouth a date, representing wealth. After this they give milk and a date to each of his friends, who in their turn put money on his forehead, fixing it there with spittle.² On the other hand, in some country places in Morocco, the bride imitates the appearance of a man by having designs resembling whiskers painted on her face,³ or by wearing her shawl thrown over her left shoulder and a dagger slung over her right,⁴ or by leaving her old home clad in a man's cloak.⁵ So also among the Bedouins of Mount Sinai, if the bride belongs to another camp than the bridegroom and is bride for the first time, one of her relatives throws over her an 'abba, or man's cloak, before she is placed upon the camel which is going to carry her to her new home;⁶ and among the peasants of Palestine the bride is likewise covered with an 'abā when she is taken to the bridegroom's place.⁷ At Klovborg, in Denmark, on the first day of the wedding bride and bridegroom dress themselves in old clothes, she in men's and he in women's; they then hide themselves from each other.⁸ It is also the custom in Denmark,⁹ and in Esthonia¹⁰ and Russia¹¹ as well, to put the

¹ Zache, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Suaheli,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxi. 81 sq.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 25.

³ *Ibid.* p. 153.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 152.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 174.

⁶ Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahābys*, pp. 150, 152.

⁷ Klein, 'Mittheilungen über Leben, Sitten und Gebräuche der Fellachen in Palästina,' in *Zeitschr. d. Deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*, vi. 98.

⁸ Kristensen, *op. cit.* iv. 75.

⁹ *Ibid.* Tillægsbind, iv. 59.

¹⁰ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 93 sqq.

¹¹ Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 36 sq.

bridegroom's hat or cap on the bride. Among the people of Southern Celebes the bridegroom at one stage of the proceedings puts on the garments which have just been put off by the bride.¹

I doubt, however, whether all these practices can be explained as attempts to deceive evil spirits. The *fiancé* or bridegroom can hardly be protected against such spirits by being dressed up as a bride, as he is at Fez, or by putting on the garments which have been worn by his bride, since the bride is supposed to be haunted by evil spirits as much as, or even more than, the bridegroom himself; nor does the bride seem to be particularly well protected by pretending to be the bridegroom, as in South India, or by wearing his cap or hat. Facts of this sort seem better to agree with Mr. Crawley's theory of "inoculation," according to which the bride or bridegroom assumes the dress of the opposite sex in order to lessen the sexual danger by wearing the same kind of clothes as "the loved and dreaded person,"² and the greatest possible assimilation between them would best serve the purpose of neutralising that danger. In some parts of Esthonia the bride is on the wedding day girded with a man's girdle and the bridegroom has a woman's girdle tied round his hat.³ Similar customs may, as already said, spring from different motives, or there may be mixed motives for the same custom. It should be added that when the bride imitates the appearance of a man, she may do so to be protected not only against evil spirits but against the evil eye.

In many cases some other person or persons than the bride or bridegroom imitate his or her costume or in some way or other personate one of them; and it has been said that persons so disguised may be supposed to serve as dummies to attract the attention of the demons or to divert to themselves the envious glance of the evil eye and so allow the real bride or bridegroom to escape unhurt.⁴ It is a common

¹ Matthes, *op. cit.* p. 35.

² Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 371 sq.

³ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 94 sq.

⁴ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 8. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 75. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 257 sq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 106.

custom among Slavonic, Teutonic, and Romance peoples, as also among the Esthonians, that when the bridegroom or his representative comes to fetch the bride from her home, a false bride is substituted for the real one, another woman, frequently an ugly old one, or a little girl, or even a man being palmed off on him as the bride.¹ In Brittany the substitutes are first a little girl, then the mistress of the house, and lastly the grandmother.² In the Samerberg district of Bavaria a bearded man in woman's clothes personates the bride;³ in Esthonia, the bride's brother or some other young man.⁴ Sometimes the substitution takes place already at the betrothal, and sometimes only at the wedding-feast. The custom is not restricted to Europe. Among the Beni-Amer in North-East Africa, when women with a camel are sent to fetch the bride, her people often substitute a false bride for the true one, and it is only when the procession is well outside the village that the substitute reveals herself and runs back laughing.⁵ Professor Weber has suggested that a certain passage in the Kausika-Sūtra may possibly refer to the occurrence of the False Bride in ancient India.⁶ But Dr. Winternitz maintains that the interpretation of that passage is very doubtful, and that it at all events is too rash an assertion to say, as v. Schroeder

¹ Usener, 'Italische Mythen,' in *Rheinisches Museum*, xxx. 183 sqq.; Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 94, 98, 108, 112, 113, 131, 191 (most Slavonic peoples). Franzisci, *op. cit.* p. 68 (Slovenes in Carinthia). Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, p. 317. Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 53 (Rumania), 113 (Switzerland), 150, 151 (Hesse), 179, 183, 190 sq. (Bohemia). de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 135 (Landes, in France). Drechsler, *op. cit.* i. 245, 246, 256 (Silesia). Hepding, 'Die falsche Braut,' in *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, v. 161 sqq. Sepp, *op. cit.* p. 74 sqq. Gertrude M. Godden, 'The False Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, iv. 142 sqq. v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 68 sqq. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 337. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 75. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 98.

² Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 246.

³ *Ibid.* p. 126.

⁴ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 218. For "the false bride" among the Cheremiss and Votyak see Hämä'äinen, *op. cit.* pp. 132, 171, 281 sq.

⁵ Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 324.

⁶ Weber, in *Indische Studien*, v. 393 n.

does,¹ that this is "undoubtedly" a primitive Indo-European custom.² As for the meaning of the custom in question, I think it must be admitted that it allows of more than one explanation. The attempt to palm off on the bridegroom a mock bride may be another of those rites, already mentioned in connection with marriage by capture, by which the girl and her relatives show opposition to her marriage and till the last put obstacles in the bridegroom's way.³

Sometimes effigies are substituted for the bride and bridegroom. A traveller in Java noticed two painted wooden figures, one of a man and the other of a woman, standing at the foot of the "family nuptial couch." These figures had been placed there to cheat the devil, who, according to the belief of the people, during the wedding night hovers round the bed with a view to carrying off one of the happy pair; for it was thought that he, deceived by their resemblance, would carry off the figures instead of the sleeping lovers.⁴ Much more frequently there is an inanimate substitute for one of the parties only. Mock marriages with things or trees or animals are often resorted to in India for the purpose of averting some threatened evil from the bride or bridegroom or both.⁵ Tree-marriages, in particular, occur widely throughout Northern India; and, as

¹ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 72.

² Winternitz, in *Transactions*, p. 269.

³ Cf. van Gennep, *op. cit.* p. 187 :—"Je crois que le plus souvent le rite a pour but d'éviter l'affaiblissement des groupements intéressés (classe d'âge sexuelle, famille, etc.) en tâchant de livrer ou d'unir des individus de moindre valeur sociale générale, et surtout économique."

⁴ d'Almeida, quoted by Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 520 sq.

⁵ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 115 sqq. *Idem*, 'Hill Tribes of the Central Indian Hills,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 242 sq. *Idem*, *Things Indian*, p. 317 sq. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 194, 319. O'Malley, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. v. (Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and Sikkim) Report, p. 323 sq. Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iii. 188 sq.; iv. 28, 506. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 405 sqq. Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes in Southern India*, pp. 35, 36, 81, &c. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 210 sqq. *Idem*, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 525 sqq. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 340 sq.

Mr. Crooke observes, the idea that the tree itself is supposed to die soon after the ceremony "seems to point to the fact that the marriage may be intended to divert to the tree some evil influence, which would otherwise attach to the wedded pair."¹ In the Punjab mock marriages, owing to fear of ill luck, take place either when a widower wishes to marry a third wife, or when the horoscope of a girl shows that the influence of certain stars is likely to lead to early widowhood. In cases of the former kind the mock marriage is celebrated sometimes with a certain tree or bush and sometimes with a sheep, which is dressed up as a bride and is led by the bridegroom round the sacrificial fire while the real bride sits by. And the fear of ill luck is due partly to the suspicion, caused by the death of the two former wives, that the wife of the man is destined to die and particularly the wife taken by the third marriage, which is considered to be peculiarly inauspicious; but partly also to the belief that the jealousy of the spirit of the first wife is instrumental in causing the death of subsequent wives, although in the case of a fourth marriage the evil influence of the first wife is supposed to have spent itself and therefore no mock marriage is usually deemed necessary. In mock marriages of the second kind, again, a pitcher full of water is dressed like a boy, and the girl is taken through the ceremonies of marriage with this pseudo-bridegroom. The ceremonies are then repeated with the real bridegroom by way of an informal marriage; and it is supposed that the effect of the evil star will befall the pitcher and not the bridegroom, thus averting the disaster of early widowhood.² Similar mock marriages are found in other parts of India, for instance in the Central Provinces. Thus among the Kawars, if a widower marries a girl for his third wife, an earthen image of a

¹ Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 120. See also O'Malley, *op. cit.* p. 324. Mr. Crooke, however, also suggests (in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 242) that the custom of tree-marriage in India is partly based on the desire to bring the wedded pair into intimate connection with the reproductive powers of nature.

² Pandit Harikishan Kaul, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xiv. (Punjab) Report, p. 283 sq. Cf. Thurston, *op. cit.* p. 44.

woman is made and he goes through the marriage ceremony with it ; he then throws the image to the ground so that it is broken, when it is considered to be dead and its funeral ceremony is performed, and the widower consequently may marry the girl, who now becomes his fourth wife.¹ Among the Barais a bachelor espousing a widow must first go through the ceremony of marriage with a swallow-wort plant.² Among the Gonds in some parts of Bastar a widow whose husband has been killed by a tiger is formally married, not to her new husband, but either to a dog or to a lance, axe, or sword, because they believe that the ghost of the deceased has entered into the tiger and in that form will seek to devour the man who marries his widow, but now will carry off the dog or perish by the weapon.³ In the Himalayas, when the conjunction of the planets portends misfortune at a marriage, or when a boy or girl on account of some bodily or mental defect cannot find a spouse, the unattractive or luckless person is first wedded to an earthen pot, the marriage-knot being tied by a string which unites the neck of the bridegroom or bride to the neck of the pot ; and the dedicatory formula sets forth that the ceremony is undertaken in order to counteract the malign influence of the adverse planets or of the bodily or mental blemish of the husband or wife.⁴

There are, further, cases in which the bridegroom or the bride, instead of assuming the appearance of somebody else or being represented by a substitute, is sheltered by some person or persons who are dressed up to resemble him or her, so that there apparently are two or more bridegrooms or brides. Thus at Fez, when the bride is taken to her future home, she is accompanied not only by the bridegroom's people who have come to fetch her, some men of her own family, and a crowd of boys, but by some—perhaps six or eight—women relatives, who are dressed exactly like herself so that no one can distinguish between them ;

¹ Russell, *op. cit.* iii. 395. ² *Ibid.* ii. 195. ³ *Ibid.* iii. 81.

⁴ Atkinson, quoted by Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 211, and Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 117.

this was said to protect her from magic and the evil eye. The men and boys of the bridegroom's party head the procession, behind them walk the women, including the bride, and last come her male relatives, both men and boys.¹ In Egypt, again, when the bridegroom goes to the mosque before meeting the bride, he walks between two friends dressed like himself;² whilst in Palestine the bridegroom leads by the hand a little boy dressed precisely like himself and called "the mock bridegroom," who imitates his slightest movements and thus diverts the company.³ Among the Abyssinians, when a princess is married, she is accompanied in the procession by her sister in an attire exactly similar to her own.⁴ In South Celebes during the first days of the wedding the bride is accompanied by a woman of her own age dressed as far as possible like her, and the bridegroom by a young man of his own age dressed like himself.⁵ In some parts of France and Italy⁶ and among the White Russians in the neighbourhood of Minsk⁷ the bridegroom must at the betrothal feast or on the wedding day find out his bride from among a crowd of girls. Among the Livonians two bridesmaids are dressed exactly as the bride herself.⁸ So also in Belford "the bride and her maids are dressed alike";⁹ and I am told that this has been the custom also elsewhere in England. The functions of bridesmaids, bridesmen, and groomsmen have been not only to attend upon bride and bridegroom but to protect them from evil influences, even when no attempt is made to imitate their dress; people always feel safer in company.¹⁰ In Shetland the best-man must

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 165 sq.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 180 sq.

³ Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551 sq.

⁴ Harris, *Highlands of Aethiopia*, ii. 225.

⁵ Matthes, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁶ de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 308 (Vosges). Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum*, xxx. 187 sq. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 407, 408, 511.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 67.

⁸ Sjögren, *Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben*, p. lxxix.

⁹ Marie Balfour, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. Northumberland, p. 97.

¹⁰ Cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 338.

sleep with the bridegroom during the night before the wedding.¹ Among the White Russians he lies down on the nuptial bed before the bride and the bridegroom.² Among other peoples he or some bridesmen are present when the marriage is consummated, or bridesmen and bridesmaids have to prevent the speedy consummation of it.³

An effective method of protecting the bride against external influences, particularly the evil eye, is to shut her up in a box when she is taken to her new home. This was formerly done at Fez, where she was carried in "a wooden cage or cabinet eight-square covered with silk,"⁴ and it is still done in the north of Morocco, where the bride is transported to the bridegroom's house in a so-called '*ammarīya* on the back of a mule or a horse ; and in one tribe this box is made of oleander branches, which are supposed to afford particularly good protection against the evil eye.⁵ In other parts of that country, and in the Muhammadan world in general, she is taken to the bridegroom's home with her face well covered, and the same is the case elsewhere, also in many uncivilised tribes.⁶ The Chinese bride inside the marriage sedan chair is completely secluded from profane gaze, and when she makes her appearance her features are concealed by a piece of red silk.⁷ The veiling of the bride is referred to in Genesis.⁸ It has been common in Europe ;⁹ and the importance which the ancient Romans attached to this custom appears from the ordinary use of the word *nubere* or *obnubere* to denote a woman's marrying. Its primary object was in all probability to protect the bride,

¹ Black, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. Orkney and Shetland, p. 209.

² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 64.

³ *Supra*, i. 205 n. 3. *Infra*, ii. 547, 550, 551, 555, 557 sq.

⁴ Leo Africanus, *op. cit.* ii. 450. ⁵ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 167 sqq.

⁶ E.g., among the Banyoro, Bakeñe (Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, pp. 39, 41, 150), Baganda (*Idem*, *Baganda*, p. 89), Wafipa (Fromm, in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxv. 97), Zulus (Tyler, *op. cit.* p. 205), Li of Hainan (Strzoda, 'Die Li auf Hainan,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 203), Yukaghir (Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 94).

⁷ Ball, *Things Chinese*, p. 420 sq. ⁸ Genesis, xxiv. 65.

⁹ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 72 sqq. Samter, *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer*, p. 47 sqq. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 79. Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 190 (Slavs). Härmäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 233 sqq. (Ugro-Finnic peoples).

particularly against the evil eye. The veil of the Esthonian bride is expressly said to serve this purpose ; and for fear of the same enemy the bridegroom, in addition, runs with her to the church as fast as he can.¹

In Morocco, however, I have also found another idea connected with the veiling or covering of the bride : her own glance is considered dangerous to others. When she is painted with henna in her home, her eyes must be covered, because misfortune would befall any person or animal the bride looked at before she has seen her husband on her arrival at his house. The '*ammarîya* into which she is carried from her bed must be placed close to the door and covered with blankets in such a manner as to make it impossible for any outsider to see the bride, because anybody who should see her would become blind. And if she looked at anybody on her way to the bridegroom's place, there would be fighting and manslaughter at the wedding that very day.² Among the Touareg of the Ahaggar the bride is not allowed to look at the *fantasia* of the horsemen, because, " si, par malheur, elle regardait un des cavaliers, celui-ci tomberait et un accident se produirait."³ In ancient India the bridegroom had to protect himself against the evil eye of his bride.⁴

In Morocco the bridegroom also, to some extent, covers his face, pulling his hood over it and drawing his *ḥâyēk* over his mouth, and although bashfulness may from the beginning have had something to do with this custom, superstition has probably the greater share in it. Among the Oráons of Bengal a screen is held round bride and bridegroom while the marriage rites are being performed, in order to protect them from the gaze of demons and of strangers who may have the evil eye.⁵ Among many peoples the bridegroom is not allowed to leave the house for a certain number of days, and a similar prohibition

Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 29.

Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 148, 163, 169, 172, 181, 189. Cf. *ibid.* 219.

Benhazera, *op. cit.* p. 15.

Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 503.

Sarat Chandra Roy, *Ordons of Chôitâ-Nâgpur*, p. 363.

applies still more frequently and for a longer period to the newly-wedded wife.¹ At Fez she must remain inside the house for two months, or at least six weeks, not even being allowed to go on the roof. At Tangier she was formerly obliged to stay at home for a whole year, but this period has been reduced to three or four months. Among some of the North-East African Beduan she may not leave the house for three years.²

It seems that particular care is often taken to protect bride or bridegroom against dangers from above. In China, "when the bride ascends the bridal sedan she wears a hat of paper, and an old woman who has sons and grandsons holds an umbrella over her."³ In the towns of Palestine and Egypt she walks under a canopy, escorted on either side by a man with a drawn sword.⁴ The Jewish *chuppah*, or canopy, under which Jewish marriages are still celebrated, seems to have been derived from the canopied litter which, in ancient time, was occupied by the bride during the procession.⁵ In the Scandinavian countries,⁶ England,⁷ and France⁸ a square piece of cloth (in French called *carré*, in English "care cloth," in Swedish *päll*, from the Latin *pallium*, or *himmel*) was held over the bride and bridegroom at the benediction. In Sweden and Swedish-speaking communities in Finland this practice has survived at the nuptial ceremony until recent times,⁹ and in some places a *himmel*

¹ Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 333 sq. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 323 n. 23. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 120.

² Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien*, p. 148.

³ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 80. See also Stewart Lockhart, 'Chinese Folk-Lore,' in *Folk-Lore*, i. 365.

⁴ Van-Lennep, *op. cit.* p. 551. See also Lynch, *op. cit.* p. 448 (Jaffa).

⁵ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 193.

⁶ Grath, *Svenska kyrkans brudvigsel*, p. 30 sq. Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 49 sqq.

⁷ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 380 sq. Gloucestershire Notes and Queries, ii. 276. Calvör, *Rituale ecclesiasticum*, i. 107.

⁸ Martène, *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus*, ii. 355 sq.

⁹ Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 50 sq. Hyllén-Cavallius, *op. cit.* ii. 437. Holmberg, *Bohusläns historia och beskrifning*, i. 243. Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 265. Lithberg, 'Bröllopsæder på Gottland,' in *Fataburen*,

was also held over the bride or the couple out-of-doors,¹ or was fastened to the roof over their seats at the table,² or arranged in the bridal chamber.³ Among the mining population of Fife, when the bridal company set out in procession for kirk, the bride and groom were sometimes "bowered," that is, an arch of green boughs was held over their heads.⁴ In some parts of Germany the bridegroom wears on the wedding day a tall hat, which he only removes in church.⁵ In some parts of Skåne, in Sweden, he kept his head covered while dancing,⁶ and among various Slavonic peoples he does so at the table.⁷ In Bohemia⁸ and among some Ugro-Finnic peoples⁹ he wears a fur cap even though the marriage is celebrated in the summer; whilst a Syryenian bride has her head covered with a cap made of sheepskin until the nuptial ceremony, and does not remove it even at night.¹⁰

Bride and bridegroom must be protected against dangers not only from above but from below. In Morocco the bridegroom must avoid sitting on the ground. At the feast when he is painted with henna or, sometimes, has flour rubbed on his hand, he has underneath him a carpet and a sack or a saddle, and I was told that the

1907, p. 173 sq. Wikman, 'Frieri, förlofning och bröllop i Delsbo,' *ibid.* 1913, p. 79. Tegengren, 'Magi och vidskepelse, hänförande sig till trolövnig, bröllop o.s.v. (Från Österbotten),' in *Hembygden*, iii. 41. Lindroos och Andersson, 'Ett bröllop i Pellinge,' *ibid.* 1910, p. 157. Nikander, manuscript notes relating to Åland.

¹ Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 26. Nikander, manuscript notes relating to Eckerö, Åland.

² Holmberg, *op. cit.* i. 243. Djurklou, *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folklif*, p. 50. Lithberg, *loc. cit.* p. 87 sq. Aina Wadström, 'Frieri- och bröllopsbruk från Dagsmark i Lappfjärd,' in *Hembygden*, ii. 84.

³ Lithberg, *loc. cit.* p. 88. ⁴ Rorie, in Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 392.

⁵ Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben*, p. 290. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 79.

⁶ Nicolovius (Lovén), *Folkklifvet i Skytts Härad i Skåne*, p. 140.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 95 (Czechs), 106 (Slovaks). Rajacsich, *Das Leben, die Sitten und Gebräuche, der im Kaiserthume Oesterreich lebenden Südslaven*, p. 181 (Serbs).

⁸ Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 180.

⁹ Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 264. For the bridegroom's keeping his head covered on various occasions see *ibid.* p. 263 sq.

¹⁰ Dobrotvorskij, quoted *ibid.* p. 264.

object of this is to prevent his being affected by evil influences. After the ceremony he is in some tribes carried away by his best-man or other bachelor friends; and at Fez, on the great occasion when his head is ceremonially shaved, he is likewise carried by his friends, from the house where he has been sitting with them to "the house of the wedding," is there put down on a large chair, and is afterwards again carried away by the friends. Throughout the wedding he has in many tribes the backs of his slippers pulled up so as to prevent their falling off and his feet coming into contact with the ground, although there is also some fear that the slippers might fall into the hands of an enemy, who would harm him by working magic with them.¹ Similar and still greater precautions are taken with regard to the bride; as the Shareefa of Wazan writes, "a bride would be unlucky to put her foot to earth at this period."² She, too, has the backs of her slippers pulled up. Sometimes she is carried to and from the place in the house where she is painted with henna. In country places she is carried to her new home on the back of an animal, on to which she is lifted sometimes from her bed, sometimes from the door of the house or the entrance of the tent, and sometimes after she has first taken a few steps on a blanket or cloak spread in front of her in order to prevent her stepping on the ground or the threshold. And when she arrives at the bridegroom's place she is carried to the nuptial bed or across the threshold.³ It may be asked why bride and bridegroom must not come into contact with the ground. In the first instance, they have *baraka*, or "holiness," and persons or objects possessed of this delicate quality are in many cases not allowed to touch the ground.⁴ Moreover, the real native country of the *jnūn* is under the ground and they are therefore always liable to haunt its surface. And as for the custom of carrying the bride through the entrance of the dwelling or otherwise preventing her touching the

¹ See Westermarck, *op. cit.* General Index, s.v. 'Bridegroom.'

² Emily, the Shareefa of Wazan, *op. cit.* p. 136.

³ See Westermarck, *op. cit.* General Index, s.v. 'Bride.'

⁴ *Idem*, *Moorish Conception of Holiness*, p. 132 sqq.

threshold, it is obviously connected with the idea that the threshold of a house and the entrance of a tent are much haunted by *jnūn*. The Moors say that "the masters of the house," that is, its jinn-owners, are walking out and in over the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so he would become ill himself or give *bas* to the place. And it would likewise be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold.¹ In Aglu in the south of Morocco, when the bridegroom enters the room where the bride is waiting for him, he puts his right foot twice over the threshold before he makes his entrance by a third step.

Very similar marriage customs are found in other countries. The bride is frequently carried to her future home—on an animal or a litter or a man's back or in some other manner. This may, of course, be done for the sake of convenience, or it may be a ceremonial expression of the reluctance which a virgin pretends to feel against being given away in marriage; but there can be no doubt that the fear of her touching the ground also has something to do with it. In Sierra Leone, according to an old account, when the bridal party approaches the bridegroom's town, the bride is taken on the back of an old woman and carried covered with a fine cloth so as not to be seen by any man; mats are spread on the ground, "that the feet of the person who carries her may not touch the earth," and in this manner she is transported to the house of her intended husband.² Among the peasantry of Lorraine women used to carry the bride seated on their arms crossed, from the threshold of the house to the church.³ In South Westphalia the bride is often taken to the church on horseback, even if it is close by, and she always rides when she leaves it.⁴ Among some Ugro-Finnic peoples she is carried to the carriage by which she is to be conveyed to the bridegroom's house, and on her arrival there she is carried

¹ Cf. *Idem*, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 220 n. 1.

² Matthews, *Voyage to the River Sierra Leone*, p. 118.

³ Remigius, quoted by Dalyell, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 292.

⁴ Woeste, *loc. cit.* p. 36 sq.

into the house ; and among the Cheremiss this custom is expressly said to be connected with the idea that a bride must not put her foot on the bare ground.¹

The bridegroom, too, may be carried. Among the Indians of Guatemala and San Salvador the bridal pair were carried by their friends, and shut in a room.² Among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur, if the bridegroom is not rich enough to afford to engage a palanquin or other conveyance, he and the bride are carried on the arms of relatives up to the limits of the bride's village and again from the boundary of his own village up to his house.³ Among the Kurmis of Bengal the bridegroom is carried to the bride's house on men's shoulders.⁴ In Cyprus, if the couple live in the same village, the bridegroom is on the wedding morning carried to the house of the bride by his friends, who, crossing arms and joining hands, form a kind of chair, on which he sits ; but if he comes from a distance, he and all his retinue arrive on horseback.⁵ In Egypt, if the bridegroom be a youth or young man, one of his friends carries him a part of the way up to the harem—according to Lane, because " it is considered proper that he, as well as the bride, should exhibit some degree of bashfulness." ⁶ Now the carrying of the bridegroom may no doubt, like that of the bride, be a ceremonial expression of modesty, real or pretended ; but my experience from Morocco makes me inclined to believe that elsewhere, also, this custom may be to some extent connected with the idea that at a certain stage of the wedding it is dangerous for him to come in contact with the ground.

At Foochow in China, again, the floor of the reception-room in the bridegroom's house is covered with red carpeting from the place where the sedan stops to the door of the bride's

¹ Hämäläinen, *op. cit.* p. 243 sq.

² Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States of North America*, i. 703.

³ Sarat Chandra Roy, *Mundas*, p. 454.

⁴ Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 319.

⁵ Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Egypt*, p. 101.

⁶ Lane, *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 182. Cf. Jaffur Shurreef, *Qanoon-e-islam, or the Customs of the Mussulmans of India*, p. 84.

room, in order to prevent her feet from touching the floor ;¹ and it is presumably for a similar reason that a Chinese bride on leaving her own home walks all the way from her room to the sedan chair in her father's shoes, which are then left behind before she steps into the chair.² Among the Morlaks of Dalmatia a sheet is spread between the door of the bridegroom's house and the horse on which the bride arrives, and on this she walks to the threshold.³ Among some Slovaks she walks into his house upon a rug ;⁴ and a similar custom recently prevailed in some parts of Epirus.⁵ In England there was "a custom at marriages of strewing herbs and flowers, and also rushes, from the house or houses where persons betrothed resided to the church."⁶ In Sunderland the footpath of the street in which the bride lives, and along which she must pass in order to be married at the church, is sprinkled with sawdust. Formerly sea-sand was used ; and if the custom was to be fully carried out in its integrity, the sand or sawdust should stretch all the way from the bride's house to the church gates.⁷ In Newcastle-on-Tyne sand is strewn on the pavement before a bridal pair tread on it.⁸ At Cranbrook in Kent, when a newly-wedded pair leave the church, the path is strewn with emblems of the bridegroom's calling ; thus carpenters walk on shavings, butchers on sheepskins, shoemakers on leather parings, and blacksmiths on scraps of old iron.⁹ The red carpet at weddings is familiar to all of us.

That these customs are, at least in part, due to superstitious fear of too close a contact with the ground is the more probable because there are other practices apparently intended to protect bride and bridegroom against supposed

¹ Doolittle, *op. cit.* i. 83.

² Chen, *Patriarchal System in China*, p. 3.

³ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 133.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 106. See also Rajacsich, *op. cit.* p. 159 (Serbs of Syrmia).

⁵ Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 22.

⁶ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 364 sq.

⁷ Coleman, 'Sawdust Wedding,' in *Notes and Queries*, ser. v. vol. v. 186.

⁸ Henderson, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders*, p. 40.

⁹ Crooke, 'Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. 245 sq.

danger from below. In some tribes in Morocco a needle or some salt is put into the right slipper of the bride, or of the bridegroom as well, as a charm against *juūn* or other evil influences.¹ In North Germany bride and bridegroom strew dill and salt into their shoes as a protection against witchcraft.² In many places a coin or coins are put into the shoe or shoes of the bride or the bridegroom or both.³ This practice, which is particularly common among the Scandinavian peasantry,⁴ is often supposed to prevent poverty or to produce wealth, but not infrequently it is expressly said to be regarded as a safeguard against evil influences.⁵ In certain parts of Germany it is believed that "if bride and bridegroom on the wedding day put a three-headed bohemian (a coin) under the sole of their right foot, it will be a happy marriage."⁶ In some parts of Scotland, according to Dalyell, "the bridegroom has sought protection by standing with the latchet of his shoe loose and a coin under his foot, probably for interception from the earth."⁷ In Montenegro, again, the *dever* places a knife in front of the feet of the bride, with the edge turned towards her, and then she puts her right foot on the knife.⁸

To carry a bride over the threshold is a very widespread

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 150, 237, 256, 290.

² Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434.

³ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 150 (Aith Yúsi in Morocco). v. Hahn, *op. cit.* p. 145; Sepp, *op. cit.* p. 21 (Albanians). Piprek, *op. cit.* pp. 64, 79, 86 (Slavonic peoples).

⁴ Feilberg, *Bidrag til en ordbog over jyske almuesmål*, p. 64 (Denmark). Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 115; Holmberg, *op. cit.* p. 243; Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 276; Lithberg, in *Fataburen*, 1907, p. 173; Wikman, *ibid.* 1913, p. 81; Djurklou, *op. cit.* p. 48; Norlind, *Gamla bröllops seder hos svenska allmogen*, p. 63 (Sweden). Sjöberg, 'Brudstugugåendet i Replot,' in *Hembygden*, vii. 81; Tegengren, 'Bröllopsbruk i Vörå,' *ibid.* viii.-ix. 139; Nikander, in manuscript notes relating to Kōkar (Swedish-speaking communities in Finland).

⁵ Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 115; Wikman, *loc. cit.* p. 81 (Sweden). Tegengren, *loc. cit.* p. 139 (Vörå, in Finland).

⁶ Grimm, *op. cit.* iv. 1823.

⁷ Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 312 sq.

⁸ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 124.

practice.¹ It occurs, or has occurred, in China,² Palestine,³ Cairo,⁴ ancient Rome,⁵ modern Greece,⁶ Germany⁷, France,⁸ French Switzerland,⁹ and Great Britain.¹⁰ Of the Palestine custom it is said that a bride is often carried over the threshold "that her feet may not touch it, to do so being considered unlucky."¹¹ Among the Slovenes, on the arrival at the bride's house after the ceremony in the church, the bridegroom carries her over the threshold "in order that nobody shall be able to do her harm."¹² In Wales, on her return from the marriage ceremony, she was always carefully lifted over the threshold because "it was considered very unlucky for a bride to place her feet on or near the threshold," and "trouble was in store for the maiden who preferred walking into the house."¹³ In some parts of Scotland, in the beginning of the last century, when the wedding party arrived at the bridegroom's house, "the young wife was lifted over the threshold, or first step of the door, lest any witchcraft or *ill e'e* should be cast upon and influence her."¹⁴ We may assume that in other cases also the custom of carrying

¹ v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 88 *sqq.* Trumbull, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 36 *sqq.* Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 136 *sqq.* Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 6 *sqq.*

² Davis, *China*, i. 329.

³ Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land*, p. 114.

⁴ Burckhardt, *Arabic Proverbs*, p. 116.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanac*, 29. Rossbach, *op. cit.* pp. 351, 359 *sqq.* Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 55.

⁶ Wachsmuth, *op. cit.* p. 97.

⁷ Weinhold, *Die deutschen Frauen in dem Mittelalter*, i. 407. Drechsler, *op. cit.* i. 264 (Silesia). Temme, *Die Volkssagen der Altmark*, p. 73.

⁸ Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* pp. 251, 258. Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.* ii. 47.

⁹ Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 106.

¹⁰ Mrs. Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. v. Lincolnshire, p. 233 *sq.* Marie Balfour, *op. cit.* p. 93 (Northumberland). Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 273. Napier, *Folk-Lore, or Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland*, p. 51. Dalryell, *The Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 291.

¹¹ Wilson, *op. cit.* p. 114.

¹² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 113.

¹³ Marie Trevelyan, *op. cit.* p. 273.

¹⁴ Napier, *op. cit.* p. 51.

the bride over the threshold is due to fear lest her feet should touch it.¹ For there is a widespread belief that the threshold is haunted by spirits or otherwise fraught with danger ; and side by side with the carrying or lifting of the bride over the threshold there is the custom which simply requires

¹ Other explanations of this custom have been suggested. With reference to the ancient Romans, Plutarch (*Quaestiones Romanae*, 29) writes :—" Why do they not permit the new-married woman herself to step over the threshold of the house, but the bridesmen lift her over ? What if the reason be that they, taking their first wives by force, brought them thus into their houses, when they went not in of their own accord ? Or is it that they will have them seem to enter into that place as by force, not willingly, where they are about to lose their virginity ? " Many modern writers have likewise tried to explain the custom as a survival of marriage by capture, e.g., Rossbach (*op. cit.* p. 360), Lord Avebury (*Origin of Civilisation*, p. 102), v. Schroeder (*op. cit.* p. 92), and Jevons (in his edition of Plutarch's *Romane Questions*, p. xcv. sq.) ; but without success (*cf.* Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 137 sq. ; Zachariæ, ' Zum altindischen Hochzeitsritual,' in *Vienna Oriental Journal*, xvii. 140 sqq.). In many cases the man who carries the bride over the threshold is neither the bridegroom nor any of his friends, but a man of her own family (*cf.* Crooke, ' Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. 239) ; and, as noticed in the text, the custom which simply requires the bride to avoid stepping upon the threshold alternates with that of lifting her. Equally unsatisfactory is Zachariæ's suggestion (*loc. cit.* p. 142 sq.) that the chief feature of the ceremony is the lifting-up of the bride, not her avoidance of touching the threshold with her feet. " Das Heben an sich," he says, " war augenscheinlich eine feierliche, bedeutsame Handlung. Personen, die man feiern oder ehren wollte, wurden in die Höhe gehoben : so bei der Hochzeit die Braut und . . . auch der Bräutigam." This may apply to some other ceremonies, but does not explain why the bride is carried over the threshold (*cf.* Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 138 sqq.). The Roman custom of lifting a bride over the threshold has been said to serve the object of preventing the bad omen which would be caused by her stumbling on it (Preller, *Römische Mythologie*, p. 585). According to Mr. Crooke (' Lifting of the Bride,' in *Folk-Lore*, xiii. 242), " the lifting over the threshold may . . . be in some cases a fertility charm ; in others it may have been intended to protect the bride from some contamination, or to avoid ill-luck." Sir James Frazer (in his recent work, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 111) favours the theory expressed in the text, which is a general application of the explanation of the Moorish custom given in my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 219 sqq.

her to avoid stepping on it.¹ This rule prevailed in ancient India, where the bridegroom, on reaching the house, should instruct the bride to place the right foot first and avoid treading upon the threshold.² The same rule is still followed by some of the Southern Slavs.³ Among the White Russians a fur is placed on the threshold of the bridegroom's house for the bridal pair to walk on when they arrive there.⁴ The threshold may be considered dangerous to the bridegroom also. Thus in Salsette, an island near Bombay, the bridegroom is carried into the house by his maternal uncle, and afterwards he himself lifts his bride over the threshold.⁵ As for the fear of the threshold, I venture to believe that it is chiefly due to that uncanny feeling which superstitious people are apt to experience when they first enter a dwelling, passing through the doorway from daylight into dimness. This feeling easily gives rise to the idea that the threshold is haunted by mysterious beings, whether the souls of dead people or spirits like the jinn, or is, generally, a seat of supernatural danger.⁶

¹ See Frazer *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 1 sqq., particularly p. 6 sqq. Various superstitions relating to the threshold are found in Trumbull's book *The Threshold Covenant*.

² *Grihya-Sūtras*, ii. 193, 263. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, pp. 23, 72.

³ Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 430 sq.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 65.

⁵ d'Penha, 'Superstitions and Customs in Salsette,' in *Indian Antiquary*, xxviii. 117.

⁶ Dr. Samter (*Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 140 sqq.), following a suggestion made by Dr. Winternitz (*Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 72), maintains that the threshold is feared because it is believed to be haunted by the souls of dead people and thinks that this belief may have originated in an earlier custom of burying the dead underneath the threshold, although he can adduce no evidence for this supposition. Sir James G. Frazer ('Folk-Lore in the Old Testament,' in *Anthropological Essays presented to E. B. Tylor*, p. 172 sq.; *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, iii. 13 sqq.), however, has given some instances of burying still-born children under the threshold in Russia and India and of burying abortive calves under the threshold of the cowhouse in England. But these instances are so few and of so exceptional a character that in my opinion no general theory as regards the world-wide fear of the threshold can possibly be based on them. I even strongly doubt that Frazer is right in his suggestion (*ibid.* p. 15 sq.) that "the glamour which surrounds the

Fear of dangers threatening bride and bridegroom from below may also be the origin of the familiar custom of throwing an old shoe or old shoes after them, which is found not only in England and Scotland,¹ but in Denmark,² on the Rhine,³ and among the Gypsies of Transylvania,⁴ and evidently occurred in ancient Greece, as appears from the representation of a wedding on a vase in the museum of Athens.⁵ At a Turkish wedding the bridegroom "has to run for his life to the harem under a shower of old shoes; for, according to the Turks, an old slipper thrown after a man is an infallible charm against the evil eye."⁶ In most cases the shoe is thrown after the bridal pair, when they leave for church or return from church or after the wedding breakfast; but a shoe may also be thrown after each separately. Train writes in his *Account of the Isle of Man*:—"On the bridegroom leaving his house, it was customary to throw an old shoe after him, and in like manner an old shoe after the bride on leaving her home to proceed to church, in order to ensure good luck to each respectively; and if by stratagem either of the bride's shoes could be taken off by any spectator on her way from church, it had to be ransomed by the bridegroom."⁷

threshold in popular fancy may be in part due to an ancient custom of burying dead infants or dead animals under the doorway." He adds, however, that this custom cannot completely account for the superstition, since the superstition attaches to the thresholds of tents as well as of houses, and, so far as he is aware, there is no evidence or probability of a custom of burying the dead in the doorway of a tent; besides, "in Morocco it is not the spirits of the dead, but the jinn, who are supposed to haunt the threshold." On the other hand, the suggestion made in the text, that the superstitions relating to the threshold are due to the uncanny feeling experienced by him who enters a dwelling, applies to tents as well as to houses, and is in no way affected by the particular nature of the evil influences which in the different cases are attached to the threshold; for they all spring from the fear of the uncanny.

¹ Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 91.

² Feilberg, *op. cit.* iii. 642; Tillæg og rettelser, p. 64.

³ Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 196.

⁴ v. Wlislöcki, *Vom wandernden Zigeunervolke*, p. 189.

⁵ Samter, *op. cit.* p. 196. ⁶ Cox, *Introduction to Folk-Lore*, p. 18.

⁷ Train, *Account of the Isle of Man*, ii. 129.

Various explanations have been given of this custom. McLennan suggested that the English practice of hurling an old shoe after the bridegroom may be a relic of marriage by capture, being "a sham assault on the person carrying off the lady";¹ but whatever else may be said against this explanation, it is disproved by the fact that an old shoe was also thrown after the bride. Some writers believe that the main object of the custom was to ensure fecundity.² In support of this explanation we are told that the wandering Gypsies of Transylvania throw old shoes or sandals on a newly-married pair when they enter their tent, expressly to enhance the fertility of the union. But this idea can hardly be primitive; Dr. Aigremont's suggestion why an old shoe is a symbol of fecundity seems somewhat fantastic.³ Nor can the English belief that the throwing of an old shoe brings good luck be primitive. Zachariae maintains that it was in the first place meant to avert evil influences, such as malevolent spirits or the evil eye, and that its connection with the idea of good luck is secondary; but to the question why it was looked upon as a safeguard against evil influences he can find no better answer than that spirits perhaps are afraid of leather.⁴ Dr. Rosén has more recently expressed a similar opinion, with reference to the ceremonial use of shoes on various occasions;⁵ but this theory is damaged by the fact that in some cases the shoes to be thrown are expressly stated to be wooden ones.⁶ Dr. Samter, again,

¹ McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 14 sq. n. 3. This suggestion was accepted by Lord Avebury (*Origin of Civilisation*, p. 103).

² Sartori, 'Der Schuh im Volksglauben,' in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, iv. 153. Aigremont, *Fuss- und Schuh-Symbolik und -Erotik*, p. 55. Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, i. 109. Heikel, *Sandalion*, p. 36 sq.

³ Aigremont, *op. cit.* p. 55: "Der alte Schuh dient mit deutlicher Anspielung auf die Vulva als Symbol des ehelichen Glücks, der ehelichen Fruchtbarkeit (die vielbenutzte vulva)."

⁴ Zachariae, *loc. cit.* p. 138. See also Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folk-Lore of Northern India*, ii. 33 sqq.

⁵ Rosén, *Om dödsrike och dödsbruk i fornnordisk religion*, p. 152 sqq.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 141, 158. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus Oldenburg*, i. 94. Cf. Samter, *op. cit.* p. 200.

suggests that the hurling of a shoe after bride and bridegroom was originally intended as an offering to dangerous spirits ;¹ but his attempt to show why an old shoe was chosen as a particularly acceptable gift to the spirits is anything but convincing. It is very probable that the various rites in which shoes are used owe their origin to more than one idea. When the shoe is a charm against disease or evil spirits or the evil eye, or is used in funeral rites with a view to preventing a dead person from coming back to trouble the living,² the reason for it seems to be that the shoe is closely associated with walking, and is therefore supposed to cause the evil influences or the dead person to pass by or to go away. But the throwing of a shoe after bride and bridegroom suggests the idea of protection rather than expulsion. It is thrown at them when they go somewhere—either when they start from their respective homes for the church, or from the church for the house where the marriage is celebrated, or from the latter place after the wedding breakfast. The throwing of it occurs side by side with practices apparently intended to protect them against evil influences from below. And it is also a custom found in England, Denmark,³ Germany,⁴ and elsewhere⁵ to throw a shoe or a slipper after a person who goes on a journey or to do business or a shooting. Brand says that in England it is accounted lucky by the vulgar to throw an old shoe after a person when they wish him to succeed in what he is going about.⁶ These facts suggest that the old shoe was meant to serve the persons in question as an extra magical protection on their way, in addition to the shoes or boots they wore. They remind us of the extreme care taken by

¹ Samter, in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, xix. 134 sqq. *Idem*, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 201 sqq.

² Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 143 sqq.

³ Kristensen, *op. cit.* Tillægsbind, iii. 130.

⁴ Sartori, in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, iv. 153. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus Oldenburg*, i. 94.

⁵ Rosén, *op. cit.* p. 141 (Sweden). Rochholz, *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau*, i. 79.

⁶ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 672.

Moorish brides and bridegrooms to prevent their slippers from falling off their feet and of the Chinese bride wearing her father's shoes for fear of contact with the ground. In Scotland it was the custom to wish brides and bridegrooms "a happy foot."¹

¹ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 673.

CHAPTER XXVI

MARRIAGE RITES

(Concluded)

EVILS are averted from bride and bridegroom not only by positive rites but by abstinences of various kinds.¹

In Morocco, when the bride is taken to her future home, she must not turn her head lest her husband should die,² and when the bridegroom enters the room where the bride is waiting, he too must take care not to turn his head back, as otherwise evil spirits may enter with him.³ In the north-east of Scotland, when the bride set out, at the head of the party going to church, she was likewise on no account to look back, such an action entailing disaster of the worst kind during the married life.⁴ So also in many parts of Germany⁵ and Sweden⁶ the bride or the bridegroom as well must not look round when on the way to church or (in Sweden) at the nuptial ceremony ; if one of them does so, she or he is looking for another partner, that is, will become a widow

¹ Cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 342 sqq.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 172.

³ *Ibid.* p. 231.

⁴ Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 91.

⁵ Wuttke, *op. cit.* pp. 220, 221, 371. Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 79 sq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 147. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, iv. 1791, 1799. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, p. 372.

⁶ Gaslander, 'Beskrifning, om Allmogens Sinnelag, etc. i Jönköpings Låhn och Wässbo Härad,' in *Nyare Bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folklif*, Bihang i. p. 276. Lithberg, 'Bröllopseder på Gottland,' in *Fataburen*, 1907. p. 173.

or widower, or some other misfortune will be the consequence. Nor must they stand so far apart that anyone can see between them; otherwise they will pull two ways, or "evil people" or the devil or the evil eye will come between them and make the marriage unhappy.¹ It is easy to understand the associations of ideas which have led to these beliefs; but the real origin of the taboos undoubtedly lies in the feeling that persons like a bride and bridegroom, who are in a dangerous state or a source of danger to others, must observe the utmost caution in all their doings. They should do as little as possible, and any mishap is an evil foreboding. In Italy neither of them dares to extinguish the candle on the wedding night, because the one who does so will die first.² In the Upper Palatinate a bride or bridegroom who drops anything on the way to church will soon become widowed and never get another partner.³ In Esthonia, if the bride falls on the way from her home, her first three or four children will die.⁴

There are taboos prohibiting bride and bridegroom from eating or drinking in public, from eating much, from eating certain victuals, or from eating anything at all—evidently with the object of preventing evil influences from entering the system by means of food.⁵ Such taboos are found in Europe,⁶ Morocco,⁷ and elsewhere.⁸ The old custom in

¹ Grimm, *op. cit.* iv. 1804, 1817. Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 371 sq. Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, i. 479. Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434. Temme, *Die Volkssagen der Altmark*, p. 74. Nicolovius (Lovén), *Folkliftet i Skytts Härad i Skåne*, p. 130. Lithberg, *loc. cit.* p. 173. Fernow, *op. cit.* p. 254. Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 111. Norlind, *op. cit.* p. 90.

² Placucci, *Usi e pregiudizj dei contadini della Romagna*, p. 60. Bacci, *Usanze nuziali del contado della Valdelsa*, p. 14.

³ Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 81. See also Lithberg, in *Fataburen*, 1907, p. 173 (Gotland).

⁴ Grimm, *op. cit.* iv. 1842.

⁵ Cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 343.

⁶ Schönwerth, *op. cit.* i. 97; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 94 (Germany). Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Ehsten abergläubische Gebräuche*, p. 35. Pipek, *Slawische Brautwerbungs- und Hochzeitsgebräuche*, pp. 87, 95, 106, 128. Rajacsich, *Das Leben, die Sitten und Gebräuche, der im Kaiserthume Oesterreich lebenden Südslaven*, pp. 157, 161, 181.

⁷ See Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 323 n. 24 sq.

⁸ Dale, in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxv. 199 sq. (Wabondei).

Russia is for the betrothed pair to eat nothing on the day of their marriage until after the ceremony.¹ Among the Peruvian Indians bride and bridegroom fasted for two days before marriage, eating no salt, no pepper, and no flesh, and drinking none of the native wine.² The young Macusi bridegroom-elect abstains from meat for some time before marriage.³ Among the Tlingit the couple are required to fast for two days, "in order to ensure domestic concord and happiness"; at the expiration of that time they are allowed to partake of a little food, when a second fast of two days is added.⁴ The Masai believe that if the bride or bridegroom partakes of food at the wedding the taboo-breaker will have eruptions round the mouth.⁵ Among the Basoga in the Uganda Protectorate, again, the bride is present at the wedding meal in her new home, but is fed by a sister; and from this time on to the end of her period of seclusion she is not allowed to touch food with her hands, but is fed like a child, her sister smearing the food over her mouth exactly as a mother does with her baby.⁶

The greatest possible inactivity is frequently required of a bride, and this rule may have to be observed for a considerable time after the marriage. Among the Nandi the bridal pair are for a whole month waited on by the bridegroom's mother, as it is unlawful for the bride during this period to work.⁷ Among the Wataveta of British East Africa, according to Mr. New, "brides are set apart for the first year as something almost too good for earth. . . . They are screened from vulgar sight, exempted from all household duties, and prohibited from all social intercourse with all of the other sex except their husbands. They are never left alone, are accompanied by some one wherever they may wish to go, and are not permitted to exert themselves in the least; even in their short walks they creep

¹ Romanoff, *op. cit.* p. 192.

² de Herrera, *General History of the Vast Continent and Islands of America*, iv. 342.

³ Im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 222.

⁴ Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 111.

⁵ Merker, *op. cit.* p. 48.

⁶ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 210. See also *ibid.* p. 264 (Bateso).

⁷ Hollis, *Nandi*, p. 64.

at a snail's pace, lest they should overstrain their muscles." They are not allowed to speak to outsiders, nor to be spoken to by them; and in this manner they are treated until they bear a child or the hope of such a desired event has passed away.¹ Silence is frequently imposed on brides. A Moorish bride must not speak at the wedding, or if she has something to say to any of the women attending her she must speak in a whisper; nor should she be spoken to in the presence of others. In Persia the bride "must not speak to any one";² and in Corea she is expected to keep absolute silence on the wedding day and in the nuptial chamber.³ Among various peoples women are forbidden to speak with anybody but their husbands for some time after marriage or, as among the Wataveta, until they have borne a child; and in certain African tribes young wives are even forbidden to speak with their husbands.⁴ These taboos probably spring from different motives; Sir James G. Frazer is inclined to believe that the silence of the wife till her first child is born rests on some superstitious belief touching her first pregnancy which as yet we do not understand.⁵ But it seems obvious that the silence of brides, at least, is connected with that fear of evil influences which is at the bottom of other abstinences. In Morocco the bridegroom, too, must not speak aloud;⁶ and I was told that in one tribe, when he on entering the nuptial chamber burns some gum-benjamin to please the spirits of the place, the couple refrain from speaking for fear of the spirits who are then supposed to be about.⁷ At the same time, however, there can be no doubt that the silence of bride and bridegroom, and their extremely reserved behaviour in general, express or symbolise sexual bashfulness—a feeling which may easily be combined with superstitious fear.

Some peoples consider it necessary for bride and bridegroom to keep awake.⁸ In Java they must not sleep

New, *Life, Wanderings, &c. in Eastern Africa*, p. 360 sq.

Customs and Manners of the Women of Persia, trans. by Atkinson, 70.

³ Griffis, *Corea*, p. 247 sq.

Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 234 sqq. ⁵ *Ibid.* iv. 236 sq.

Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 129.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 244.

Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 342 sq. Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 131.

during the night preceding the wedding, lest some grave misfortune should befall them.¹ Among some Sumatrans the pair sit up all night in state.² Among some Dyaks of Borneo they may not go to sleep, "else evil spirits would make them ill."³ Among the Nufors of Geelvink Bay, in Dutch New Guinea, bride and bridegroom are obliged to pass the first night or, according to another account, the first four nights after marriage sitting with their backs turned to each other without falling asleep, and if they grow drowsy, they are waked by their friends; they believe that to keep awake on the wedding night is a means of ensuring a long and happy life.⁴ So also among the Khyongtha of Chittagong "the bride and bridegroom are expected to sit up all night."⁵ At a Brahman wedding in India bride and bridegroom, when entering the nuptial chamber, find there a number of young women whose object is to prevent their sleeping during the rest of the night.⁶ In the Híáina, in Morocco, I was told that the bridegroom must not let the bride wait for him so long that she dozes and is then awakened and frightened by the noise he makes, because if this happens she may easily be struck by *jnūn* and get a distorted face or lose her senses.

Very frequently continence has to be observed for a shorter or longer time after marriage.⁷ Instances of this may be quoted from all parts of the world. Among the Tlingit bride and bridegroom were not only obliged to fast for some days but had to defer the consummation of the

¹ Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 422.

² Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 269.

³ Perelaer, *Ethnographische beschrijving der Dajaks*, p. 53.

⁴ van Hasselt, 'Die Noeforezen,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* viii. 181 sq. Guillemaud, *Cruise of the Marchesa*, p. 389. Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 103. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 511 sq.

⁵ Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 130.

⁶ Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 370.

⁷ Various instances of this have been given by Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 344 sqq.; by v. Reitzenstein, 'Der Kausalzusammenhang zwischen Geschlechtsverkehr und Empfängnis in Glaube und Brauch der Natur- und Kulturvölker,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xli. 677 sq.; and especially by Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 497 sqq.

marriage for four weeks.¹ Among the Thompson Indians of British Columbia "a newly-married couple, although sleeping under the same robe, were not supposed to have connubial connection until from two to seven nights—generally four nights—after coming together. The young wife slept with her husband, but still wore her maiden's breech-cloth. At last, having had connection with her husband, she arose before daybreak and repaired to the water, where she washed herself and spent the day in seclusion."² Among the Nootka a newly-married pair used to refrain from intercourse for ten days after marriage.³ Among other North American Indians there were some who after being married lived in perfect continence for months or even a year. The object of this, they said, was to show that they had married "not because of lust, but purely through affection"; and a young woman would even be pointed at if she were found with child within a year of marriage.⁴ Among the ancient Mexicans the married pair passed "four days in prayer and fasting, dressed in new habits, and adorned with certain ensigns of the gods of their devotion, without proceeding to any act of less decency, fearing that otherwise the punishment of heaven would fall upon them. . . . Until the fourth night the marriage was not consummated; they believed it would have proved unlucky, if they had anticipated the period of consummation."⁵ The Mazatek bridegroom had no sexual intercourse with his wife during the first fifteen days of his wedded life, both of them spending the time in fasting and penance.⁶

¹ Holmberg, 'Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika,' in *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, iv. 314 sq. Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 111.

² Teit, 'Thompson Indians of British Columbia,' in *Publications of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition*, i. 326.

³ Grant, quoted by Bancroft, *op. cit.* i. 198 n. 75.

⁴ Perrot, 'Memoir on the Manners, Customs, and Religion of the Savages of North America,' in Blair, *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley and Region of the Great Lakes*, i. 69. de Charlevoix, *Voyage to North-America*, ii. 38. *Jesuit Relations*, xix. 68 sq.; xxxvii. 154 sq. Lafitau, *Mœurs des sauvages américains*, i. 574 sq.

⁵ Clavigero, *History of Mexico*, i. 320 sq.

⁶ Bancroft, *op. cit.* ii. 261.

Among the Musos and Colimas of New Granada, if the matrimony happened to be consummated during the first three days, the woman was looked upon as lewd and wicked ; and the correct thing for the man was to lie by her " all that moon without consummation."¹ A Mundrucû bridegroom keeps away from his bride on the wedding night.² Among the Karayá on the Rio Araguaya in Brazil bride and bridegroom sleep for the first four nights on the same mat but with a wide interval between them, not being allowed to approach each other ; on the fifth day the bride returns to her father's house, and the marriage is consummated only when the bridegroom after a few days' hunt comes back with his game.³ Among the Guaycurûs the bridegroom spends the wedding night together with the bride in her father's house but without touching her.⁴

Among the Herero bride and bridegroom have no conjugal intercourse on the wedding night, although they meet in secret.⁵ So also among the Bohindu, on the Congo, " les relations entre mari et femme ne sont pas permises immédiatement après le mariage."⁶ Among the Pangwe it is the custom for the bride, even though she sleeps with the bridegroom, not to allow him to have connection with her on the first night, because she is ashamed of being talked about.⁷ Among the Banyoro marriage was consummated on the evening of the second day after the wedding ceremony, when the guests had departed ;⁸ among the Baganda⁹ and Banyankole,¹⁰ on the third night. Of the Fors we are told that bride and bridegroom are not present at the wedding and do not see one another during the following week ;

¹ de Herrera, *op. cit.* vi. 184.

² v. Martius, *Beiträge zur Ethnographie Amerika's*, i. 113.

³ Ehrenreich, *Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens*, p. 29.

⁴ do Prado, ' Historia dos Índios Cavalleiros, da Nação Guaycurú,' in *O Patriota*, 1814, no. 4, p. 20.

⁵ Bensen, quoted by Kohler, ' Das Recht der Herero,' in *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Rechtswiss.* xiv. 303.

⁶ Torday and Joyce, *Les Bushongo*, p. 271.

⁷ Tessenmann, *Die Pangwe*, ii. 255 sq.

⁸ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 40.

⁹ *Idem*, *Baganda*, p. 91.

¹⁰ *Idem*, *Northern Bantu*, p. 120.

only on the afternoon of the seventh day after the wedding they meet, but even then marriage is not consummated for some nights.¹ In Usambara the young people meet at the house of a friend, where two bedsteads are placed one on either side of the room, with a big fire between ; and on these the bride and bridegroom recline in the sight of each other for four or five days without food.² Among the Wataveta a bride sleeps with four little bridesmaids for five nights after marriage, and it is not till about a week afterwards that the bridegroom is allowed to take possession of her.³ Among the Nandi marriage may not be consummated the first night,⁴ and according to one account it is not so until the couple take possession of their own house, which usually happens on the third day.⁵ Among the Akamba the young wife sleeps in the husband's bed during the first night, but they may not have any intercourse ; early next morning, while the others are still asleep, she gets up, sweeps out the hut, and makes up the fire for cooking, and then goes to bed again, because she is shy of her mother-in-law and wants to show herself to her as little as possible.⁶ In some Berber tribes of Morocco the bridegroom has his first intercourse with the bride only on the day after her arrival when all the guests have gone away, and if he is shy of his parents he waits till the evening before he goes to see her. But in one of the tribes with whose marriage customs I am acquainted, the Ait Tâméldu on the southern slopes of the Great Atlas

¹ Felkin, 'Notes on the For Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xiii. 228 sq. An Arab traveller, Muhammad ibn 'Umar, says that in Darfur "the marriage is seldom considered as completely celebrated until the seventh day, and never until after the third. A husband always shuns the insulting epithet of the impatient man. Each day of temperance is dedicated to some particular person : the first to the father of the bride, the second to the mother, and so on" (*Travels of an Arab Merchant in Soudan*, abridged from the French by Bayle St. John, p. 107).

² Farler, 'Usambara Country in East Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Geograph. Soc. N.S.* i. 92. Baumann, *op. cit.* p. 133 sq.

³ Hollis, 'Notes on the History and Customs of the People of Taveta,' in *Jour. African Soc.* i. 115 sqq.

⁴ *Idem*, *Nandi*, p. 63. ⁵ Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 878.

⁶ Lindblom, *Akamba*, p. 73.

range, a bridegroom has not conjugal intercourse with his bride until the third night after she has been brought to his house, or, if his parents are alive, not until all the guests have gone away.¹ In Egypt it is customary for husbands to deny themselves their conjugal rights during the first week after marriage with a virgin bride.²

Similar customs have been found among the Australian aborigines. Strehlow tells us that among the Arunta and Loritja the young wife spends the first night with her mother and only the second night with her husband.³ Of the Narrinyeri we are told that "it is a point of decency for the couple not to sleep close to each other for the first two or three nights; on the third or fourth night the man and his wife sleep together under the same rug. This arrangement is for the sake of decency. At the marriage many persons are present, sleeping in the same camp; so the newly married couple wait till they have moved off, and only a few relatives are left with them. They then often make a little hut for themselves."⁴ In the tribes of Western Victoria, where a marriage used to be observed with somewhat elaborate ceremonies and attended by a large number of the friends and relatives of the couple, bride and bridegroom had for two months to sleep on opposite sides of the fire in the new hut which had been erected for them by the bridegroom's friends. During all this time they were not allowed to speak to or look at each other; and the observance of these rules was ensured by a bachelor friend of the bridegroom who slept with him on one side of the fire, and the nearest unmarried female relative of the bridegroom who slept with the bride on the other side of it.⁵ Among the Euahlayi tribe bride and bridegroom camp for a moon on one side of the fire and she on the other; till her grand-

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 249 sqq.

² Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 508.

³ Strehlow, *Die Aranda- und Loritja-Stämme in Zentral-Australien*, vol. iv. pt. i. 90, 100.

⁴ Taplin, *Folklore, Manners, Customs, and Languages of the South Australian Aborigines*, p. 35.

⁵ Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 31 sq.

mother tells her that she must camp on the same side of the fire as her betrothed, and as long as she lives be his faithful and obedient wife.¹ Among the natives of Fraser Island, Queensland, bride and bridegroom do not come together for nearly two months after marriage.²

In Tikopia the consummation of marriage is postponed for several days.³ At Saa in Malanta, one of the Solomon Islands, although the girl goes to take up her abode in her new family, it is sometimes a long time before the marriage is consummated, "through the shyness of the bridegroom, though the parents encourage the young couple to be friendly."⁴ Among the Roro-speaking tribes of British New Guinea cohabitation is not supposed to begin for a few weeks after the wedding, the husband sleeping in the men's clubhouse and the wife in her father-in-law's house; but it appears that in most cases intercourse takes place in or near the gardens soon after marriage. "It was stated that formerly it was not customary for a woman to have children until her garden was bearing well, that is to say, until she had been married from one to two years."⁵ We have previously seen how a newly-wedded pair spend the first night or the first four nights among the Nufors of Geelvink Bay.⁶

Continence for some time after the celebration of the marriage ceremony is the rule in many parts of the Indian Archipelago. Among some of the Dyaks of Dutch Borneo the couple may not come together on the first night of marriage, which is spent by the bride in the house of her mother or of some other female relative.⁷ In the tribes of the Barito valley, in the same island, a bridegroom usually observes continence during the first three nights, which he passes in the company of his friends, although he visits his wife from time to time to eat and drink with her and over-

¹ Mrs. Langloh Parker, *Euahlayi Tribe*, p. 58.

² Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 84 n.*

³ Rivers, *History of Melanesian Society*, i. 309 sq.

⁴ Codrington, *Melanesians*, p. 239.

⁵ Seligman, *Melanesians of British New Guinea*, p. 270.

⁶ *Supra*, ii. 547.

⁷ Perelaer, *op. cit.* p. 53.

come her shyness.¹ Among the Madurese and in some parts of Eastern Java the marriage is not consummated until the third night after the wedding;² among the Sundanese of the same island not until the fourth day, the bride sitting during the first three nights beside the bridegroom silent and with downcast eyes;³ among the inhabitants of the Teng'ger Mountains in Java not until the fifth day;⁴ and among the princes and the wealthy of that island sometimes not before three months have passed.⁵ In many villages of Central Sumatra some old women of the family keep watch over the young couple for three nights, preventing them from having intercourse.⁶ The Achehnese, says Snouck Hurgronje, are averse to great intimacy in the beginning of married life; during the first seven nights the couple always sleep under the surveillance of a *peunganjō*, or bride's duenna.⁷ In families of high rank in Southern Celebes, where the marriage ceremonies sometimes last for a month, the bride is all this time attended by eight old women, who sleep at night with the couple and prevent all intimacy between them.⁸ So also in Endeh, in the island of Flores, eight women sleep with them, though only for the first four nights after marriage, two of the women always keeping awake to prevent the bride and bridegroom from getting too near each other.⁹ In the Babar Islands the pair may after the performance of the marriage ceremony sleep in the same room, but for the first few nights the bride sleeps with some female relatives and the bridegroom with some male relatives; should they, however, contrive to come together in the dark, the relatives go away

¹ Schwaner, *Borneo. Beschrijving van het stroomgebied van den Barito*, i. 197.

² Veth, *Java*, iv. 396.

³ Hardouin and Ritter, *Java*, p. 29.

⁴ Raffles, *History of Java*, i. 369.

⁵ Barrington d'Almeida, quoted by Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 510.

⁶ van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra*, p. 280.

⁷ Snouck Hurgronje, *Achehnese*, i. 325. See also Kruijt, *Atjeh en de Atjehers*, p. 193.

⁸ Matthes, *op. cit.* pp. 29, 35.

⁹ Roos, 'Iets over Endeh,' in *Tijdschrift voor indische taal-, land- en volkenkunde*, xxiv. 525.

on the fourth or fifth day or even earlier.¹ In the Kei Islands an old woman, or sometimes a child who is too young to run about, sleeps between the couple for three nights.² Among the Tinguianes of Luzon the bride and bridegroom sleep on the wedding night with a space of two ells between them, in which lies a boy, six or eight years old ; and they are not even allowed to speak to each other.³ In Riukiu, an island between Formosa and Japan, they spend the wedding night in different rooms and live together only from the following day.⁴

In the Patani States of Malacca a bride and bridegroom are supposed to lie together for at least three nights after the wedding without having intercourse ; but this restriction is not necessary in the case of old men who are not married for the first time.⁵ Among the Kachins or Chingpaw of Upper Burma, "as a rule, cohabitation does not take place for some days after marriage, the only reason given being that the parties are ashamed."⁶ But according to Father Gilhodes, most young couples among them whom he has known have had no child before the third or fourth year after their marriage ; and when he has asked their relatives to explain this, the answer has been that "les jeunes époux par honte n'ont pas de bonne heure des relations maritales."⁷ Among the Khyougtha, one of the hill tribes of Chittagong, a bridegroom refrains from consummating his marriage until he and his wife (sleeping apart) have for seven days eaten together seven times a day.⁸ In some of the wild hill tribes of Assam the young couple are forbidden to come together until they have slept under the same roof at least three nights without intercourse ; but the prohibition is

¹ Riedel, *De sluik- en kroesharige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 351.

² *Ibid.* p. 236.

³ Blumentritt, *Versuch einer Ethnographie der Philippinen*, p. 38.

⁴ Iguchi, 'Wenig bekannte japanische Hochzeitsbräuche,' in *Globus*, lxxviii. 272.

⁵ Annandale and Robinson, *Fasciculi Malayenses*, ii. 75.

⁶ Scott and Hardiman, *Gazetteer of Upper Burma*, pt. i. vol. i. 407.

⁷ Gilhodes, 'Mariage et Condition de la Femme chez les Kachins,' in *Anthropos*, viii. 372.

⁸ Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 130.

relaxed in the case of the marriage of widows.¹ Among the Kacháris the interval of time between the bride's entering her husband's house and the consummation of the marriage sometimes amounts to five days.² Among the Hindu Chutiyas of Assam it is said that "matrimonial etiquette requires postponement of consummation of the marriage for a week or so after the completion of the wedding ceremonial."³ Among the Mongsen, an Ao tribe of the Nagas, six men and six women sleep for six nights in the house of the newly-wedded pair, the men with the bridegroom and the women with the bride.⁴ In the Angami tribe of Nagas two women and one man sleep with the bride on the wedding night in the house of the bridegroom's parents while the bridegroom sleeps in the bachelors' hall ; and it is only after nine or ten more days have passed and the high priest of the clan has completed the ceremony of marriage by sacrificing a chicken that bride and bridegroom are allowed to cohabit.⁵ In the Naga tribes of Manipur "marital intercourse within the dwelling house is prohibited for the initial nights of the married life. This prohibition extends in some cases over a period of a month, but is always less in cases of remarriage."⁶ Among the Mikirs, when the bridegroom comes with his party to the bride's house, the bride prepares the bed for him ; "but if the lad is ashamed, he sends one of his garments to take his place in the bed."⁷

Among the Rājjhars, a caste of farm servants in the north of the Central Provinces, the couple sleep on their wedding night with a woman lying between them.⁸ Among various castes and tribes in Cochin the consummation of marriage is deferred until the night of the fourth day,⁹ or even till a week or two have passed after the wedding.¹⁰ In the Agasa

¹ Hodson, 'The "Genna" amongst the Tribes of Assam,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvi. 97. ² Endle, *Kacháris*, p. 46.

³ *Ibid.* p. 95.

⁴ Gait, *Census of India*, 1891, Assam, i. 245.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 239.

⁶ Hodson, *Nāga Tribes of Manipur*, p. 87.

⁷ Stack, *Mikirs*, p. 18.

⁸ Russell, *Tribes and Castes of the Central Provinces of India*, iv. 407.

⁹ Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Tribes and Castes*, ii. 139 (Variyars), 143 (Pisharotis), 192 (Nambuthiris). ¹⁰ *Ibid.* i. 61 (Ulladans).

caste in Mysore, if a girl is married when she has already attained womanhood, there must be an interval of fifteen days between marriage and consummation; whilst the Kurubas insist on an interval of three months, as they consider it inauspicious that a child should be born within a year of the marriage.¹ So also among the Kammas, a Telugu caste of Southern India, consummation does not take place till three months after the marriage ceremony, because it is held to be unlucky to have three heads of a family in a household during the first year of marriage.² The Wazirs of Bannu, in the Punjab, say that it was formerly their practice not to consummate the marriage for a long time after the wedding ceremony.³ In Baluchistan the bride often continues to share her bed with a kinswoman for three nights after the celebration of the marriage; "and when her husband eventually joins her, he is expected in some tribes to defer consummation for a considerable period."⁴

Continence for some time after marriage was prescribed for the Vedic householder by ancient Indian law. In the Grihyasūtras he is frequently enjoined to abstain from conjugal intercourse during the first three nights.⁵ In one of these codes it is said that through three nights he and his wife shall sleep on the ground, be chaste, and avoid salt and pungent food; and "between their sleeping-places a staff is interposed, which is anointed with perfumes and wrapped round with a garment or a thread."⁶ In other codes the period of continence imposed on the couple or recommended to them is extended to six or twelve nights, or four or six months, or even a year.⁷ One of the lawgivers tells us that an abstinence of three nights would be rewarded with the birth of a Vedic scholar of the ordinary type, an abstinence

¹ Thyagaraja Aiyar, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. xxi. (Mysore) Report, p. 100. ² Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, iii. 103.

³ Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*, iii. 507.

⁴ Bray, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. iv. (Baluchistan) Report, p. 113. ⁵ *Grihya-Sūtras*, i. 43, 384; ii. 48.

⁶ *Ibid.* ii. 267. Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 25.

⁷ *Grihya-Sūtras*, i. 171, 286. Haas, *loc. cit.* p. 330 sq. Winternitz, *op. cit.* p. 86.

of twelve nights with that of a really first class Vedic scholar, an abstinence of four months with that of a Brahman of a still more exalted rank, an abstinence of six months with that of a *Rishi*, or saint, and an abstinence of a whole year with that of a god.¹

Professor v. Schroeder believes that the custom of practising continence for some time after marriage may be traced back to the primitive period of the Indo-European race.² It certainly exists, or has in recent times existed, in many parts of Europe.³ In Herzegovina and Montenegro, according to Bogišić, the bride sleeps on the marriage night fully dressed with the bridesman, generally one of the husband's brothers, and passes the following nights with her sisters-in-law; and this separation of husband and wife may last a long time, since the husband's mother alone has the right to decide when it shall end.⁴ Miss Durham was assured by an old-style Montenegrin from the mountains that the longer the consummation of the marriage was put off the more honourable it was; and that he knew brides who had lived for many months in a separate house with their brothers-in-law.⁵ At Risano, in Dalmatia, it was formerly the custom for the bride to sleep the first three nights with the two bridesmen.⁶ Among the Serbs of the Banat she sleeps the first night with the bridesman, who is generally a small child.⁷ Among Roman Catholic towns-people in Upper Albania a well-educated bride is supposed to resist the bridegroom's advances for the first three nights, but custom does not allow her to do so for a longer period.⁸ Von Hahn says that in Albania the bride sleeps with the women and the bridegroom with his friends.⁹

¹ Winternitz, *op. cit.* p. 86.

² v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 192 *sqq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 193 *sqq.*

⁴ Demelić, *Le droit coutumier des slaves méridionaux d'après les recherches de M. V. Bogišić*, quoted by Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 504. See also Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 456.

⁵ According to manuscript notes which Miss Durham has kindly placed at the author's disposal.

⁶ Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 456.

⁷ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 135.

⁸ Gopčević, *Oberalbanien und seine Liga*, p. 456.

⁹ v. Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 146.

In the year 1738 the parson of Daxlanden, near Karlsruhe, complained of the custom according to which the bridesman and bridesmaid slept together with the bride and bridegroom during the first night in order to prevent their having conjugal intercourse.¹ In various parts of Germany and Switzerland continence is observed for three nights after marriage, which are frequently known as the " Tobias nights "; it is believed that otherwise the wedded life of the couple would be unlucky, whereas if they abstain from intercourse the devil will not be able to do any harm.² In some parts of France also continence is or recently was practised for three³ or two⁴ nights after marriage or on the first night,⁵ and in several places in Brittany the bride is during this night entrusted to the supervision of the bestman and the bridesmaid.⁶ The first night is dedicated sometimes to God and sometimes to the Holy Virgin, the second to the Holy Virgin or to Saint Joseph, the third to the husband's patron saint. In Lower Brittany the consummation of marriage is sometimes put off for a fortnight or even longer.⁷ Among the peasants of Romagna bride and bridegroom do not sleep together on the marriage night because some of the guests remain overnight and the house is small.⁸ In the latter part of the eighteenth century Lord Hailes was informed that abstinence on the wedding night was " still observed by the vulgar in some parts of Scot-

¹ Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, p. 272.

² Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 375. Simrock, *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, p. 600 sq. Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 112. Birlinger, *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben*, i. 479; ii. 334, 354. Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben*, p. 319. Reiser, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Sprichwörter des Allgäu*, ii. 276.

³ Hanauer, *Les paysans d'Alsace au Moyen-Age*, p. 137 n. 2. Ogée, *Dictionnaire historique et géographique de la province de Bretagne*, li. 890 (Scaër), 932 (Tréméoc).

⁴ Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, p. 132 (Matignon).

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 137. Ida v. Düringsfeld and v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *op. cit.* p. 250 (Sachelay in the department of Seine-et-Oise).

⁶ de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 195. Sébillot, *op. cit.* p. 137.

⁷ Sébillot, *op. cit.* p. 132.

⁸ Placucci, *op. cit.* p. 59 sq.

land.”¹ Similar customs have also been found among some non-Aryan peoples belonging to the former Russian empire. Among the Esthonians it was formerly the rule that a husband might not unloose his wife’s girdle nor take any other liberty with her on the wedding night.² Pallas was told that among the Samoyed a bride remained untouched for a whole month, although the couple slept on the same bed and not, as was the case among the Ostyak, on separate furs.³

Now it may be argued that the continence observed after marriage in so many parts of Europe is not a survival of an ancient pagan custom, but is due to the teaching of the Christian Church. A decree of the alleged fourth Council of Carthage, said to have been held in the year 398,⁴ enacted that when the bridegroom and bride have received the benediction, they shall remain that same night in a state of virginity out of reverence for that benediction.⁵ This enactment was received into the canon law; and by subsequent enactments the period of chastity which bride and bridegroom were required or recommended to observe after marriage was extended from one to two or three nights, often with special reference to the example set by Tobias, who by advice of the archangel Raphael abstained from carnal intercourse with his wife Sarah for three nights.⁶ It is conceivable that the same horror of sexual defile-

¹ Lord Hailes, *Annals of Scotland*, iii. 15 n. *

² Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 25.

³ Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des Russischen Reichs*, iii. 79 sq. According to Lepechin (quoted by v. Stenin, ‘Das Gewohnheitsrecht der Samojeden,’ in *Globus*, lx. 172), a Samoyed bridegroom spends the first night with the bride without touching her.

⁴ See v. Hefele, *Conciliengeschichte*, ii. 68 sq.

⁵ *Concilium Carthaginense quartum*, 13 (Migne, *Patrologiae cursus*, lxxxiv. 201).

⁶ Lord Hailes, *op. cit.* iii. 15 sq. Veuillot, *Le droit du seigneur*, p. 191 sq. Schmidt, *Jus primae noctis*, p. 153. Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 497 sq. Benedictus, *Capitularium collectio*, 463 (Migne, *op. cit.* xcvi. 859): “Et biduo vel triduo orationibus vacent et castitatem custodiant, ut bonae soboles generentur et Domino suis in actibus placeant.” The archangel Raphael’s advice and the continence of Tobias are related in the Vulgate, *Liber Tobiae*, chs. 6, 8.

ment as induced the Church to prescribe continence in connection with various other religious acts also might independently have led to the decree imposing continence in connection with the sacrament of marriage ; but it seems more probable that this decree and the subsequent appeal to the archangel's advice to Tobias only gave religious sanction and scriptural support to an old pagan custom which was highly congenial to the ascetic tendencies of the Church. A similar view has recently been advocated by Sir James Frazer with much fulness of detail.¹ This view derives support, first, from the fact that the rule of continence after marriage is not only found among pagan peoples in all parts of the world but existed among the Vedic Aryans ; and, secondly, from its persistence in European folk-custom, which suggests a deeper foundation than ecclesiastical injunctions alone.

At the same time it must be admitted that the custom of deferring the consummation of the marriage for a time may have a different origin in different cases. Sometimes it is attributed to resistance on the part of the bride, and there may be some truth in this. In many tribes in Morocco it is usual, and seems even to be the proper thing, for a bride to make resistance ; and that this may be of a serious character is apparent from the fact that the bridegroom's best-man often remains outside the door of the room or tent ready to step in, if the bridegroom needs his assistance, and tie up the bride.² More frequently, however, the custom of observing continence is ascribed to sexual bashfulness in the bridegroom or in both parties ; and when intercourse is said to be postponed till the guests have gone away, and in some other cases quoted above as well, this seems a very natural explanation of the postponement. The objection to having a child within a year of the marriage or at a still later period may also perhaps have something to do with sexual modesty, though there are probably other reasons for it. In his description of the Greenlanders in the eigh-

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 505.

² Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 235, 239, 242, 244, 248, 250, 251, 253.

teenth century. Egede says that if married couples among them had children before a year was past, or if they had large families, they were blamed and compared to dogs.¹ Yet it can hardly be doubted that the rule of continence to which bride and bridegroom are subject, like other taboos imposed upon them, is mainly the outcome of superstitious fear.² If it is considered dangerous for them to speak or eat or sleep, it is not surprising if sexual intercourse between them is supposed to be fraught with danger. In most cases of compulsory continence we are not told of any such reason for it ; but sometimes it is said that the observance of it is essential for a happy wedded life, or that it will make the offspring good, or that it will prevent the devil from doing harm,³ whilst we read in the ' Book of Tobit ' that a wicked demon, named Asmodæus, out of spite and jealousy slew the woman's seven bridegrooms as soon as they had gone in to her on the wedding night.⁴

With reference to the Vedic practice Oldenberg says that its original meaning, though it was obviously no longer understood by the people, must be sought in the fear of spirits who, in the act of copulation, might slip into the woman and endanger her offspring or might even themselves impregnate her, but were supposed to be misled by a pretence of omitting the consummation of marriage.⁵ The idea that evil spirits may slip into women when they have sexual intercourse is familiar to Muhammadans even at the present day. I was told in Morocco that it is always necessary for the husband before having intercourse with his wife to say *bismillāh*, " In the name of God," lest the devil should enter the woman and make the child a villain ; and this belief has the support of the Muhammadan tradition.⁶ Sir James G. Frazer, again,

¹ Egede, *Description of Greenland*, p. 143 note.

² Cf. Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 343 ; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 110 ; Frazer, *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, i. 520. ³ See *supra*, ii. 548, 556 sqq.

⁴ *Liber Tobiaë*, chs. 3, 6. *Book of Tobit*, chs. 3, 6.

⁵ Oldenberg, *op. cit.* p. 271.

⁶ El-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, lxvii. 66, French translation by Houdas and Marçais, iii. 578 :—" D'après Ibn-'Abbās, le Prophète a dit : ' Eh bien ! si l'un de vous, voulant avoir commerce avec sa femme, disait : " Au nom de Dieu. Ô mon Dieu, écarte de moi le démon ;

observes that "the intention of the custom is perhaps not so much to deceive the demons by pretending that the marriage is not to be consummated, as to leave them free scope for making love to the bride in the absence of the bridegroom";¹ and a similar explanation has previously, and in more positive terms, been suggested by Baron von Reitzenstein.² Yet I fail to find any evidence for it in existing facts. Frazer appeals to the story of Tobias and Sarah, as it is related in the Vulgate; in the Greek text of the Septuagint and in the English translation, which follows this text, no mention is made of the nights of continence. He observes that in that story the practice of continence is enjoined for the purpose of defeating the jealous devil, who had already massacred Sarah's seven earlier husbands, and who would have killed her eighth, if that bold man had not received timely warning and prudently abstained from exercising his conjugal rights for three nights after marriage. "The inference suggested by the narrative," Frazer adds, "is that by this abstinence Tobias left the field open to his spiritual rival, who, after enjoying the bride undisturbed for three nights, was content to pass her on to her lawful husband for the term of his natural life."³ But the story tells us that the archangel Raphael advised Tobias not only to observe continence and give himself up to prayer, but, on the first night, to burn the heart and liver of a fish by which he had been attacked on his way to Ecbatana and which he had caught and killed by the advice of the angel, and to make a smoke with it, in order to put the demon to flight; and we are also told that the demon no sooner smelled the ill-savour than he fled away into the utmost parts of Egypt, where the angel bound him fast. This incident is found in the Greek text also,⁴ and, as Frazer himself points out,⁵ we may conclude that it also belonged to the original

écarte le démon du fruit de notre union," et qu'ensuite le Destin ou la Prédestination fit naître un enfant de ces relations, le démon ne pourrait jamais nuire à cet enfant.' "

¹ Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 520.

² Reitzenstein, in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xli. 656, 661, 676.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 519 sq.

⁴ *Book of Tobit*, chs. 6, 8.

⁵ Frazer, *op. cit.* i. 518.

version of the story. But if Tobias thus drove the demon away on the first night, how can it be inferred that he let him enjoy the bride undisturbed for three nights? We may suppose that the practice of continence was another precautionary measure calculated to safeguard Tobias—several different methods of averting evil influences are commonly resorted to at weddings—but I can find no indication that it was meant to serve as a sort of invitation to the demon to take possession of the bride.

I am of opinion that anthropologists are often apt to look for too much reasoning at the bottom of primitive customs. Many of these are based on vague feelings rather than on definite ideas. Sexual intercourse, which is in many cases regarded as a mysterious cause of evil, is considered dangerous to bride and bridegroom, who are particularly exposed or sensitive to evil influences, and is therefore abstained from while the danger lasts. But to speculate on the specific nature of the danger and of the evil influences causing it, or on the way in which continence is supposed to avert that danger, is, in the absence of direct evidence, the more precarious, as it is very doubtful whether the people themselves have any clear theory on the subject.¹

The prophylactic observances which play such an important part at marriages in all parts of the world raise the interesting question, Why are bride and bridegroom supposed to be in a dangerous condition, and why is the bride considered dangerous to others? In order to answer these questions, at least so far as Moorish ideas are concerned,

¹ Since the above was already in type Dr. Karsten has, in his *Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador* (*Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, i. no. 3), p. 72, published a fact which is in full agreement with the theory of Reitzenstein and Frazer. Among the Indians of Canelos the young couple do not spend the first night after the nuptial feast together because they believe that, if they did, the husband would die. The *supai*, a most dangerous demon, claims the right to spend that night with the bride, and the right is voluntarily ceded to him by the husband. Even the following night is critical, since the demon wants to continue to have the woman for himself and is jealous of her husband; and sometimes the danger is not supposed to be wholly over until

I have compared the rites practised in Morocco at weddings where the bridegroom is a bachelor and the bride a maiden with those practised in cases where either bride or bridegroom or both have been married before. This comparison showed that the rites of a purificatory or protective kind to which the bride or bridegroom is subject depend on the circumstance whether she or he, but not both parties, have been married before or not. A bridegroom who is a bachelor is subject to the same ceremonies whether the bride be a maiden, a widow, or a divorced wife, whereas these ceremonies are omitted in the case of a bridegroom who has or has had another wife, quite independently of the state of the bride; and a bride who has not been married before is subject to the same ceremonies whether the bridegroom be a bachelor, a widower, or a polygamist, whereas these ceremonies are, if not altogether done away with, at all events much reduced in the case of a bride who is a widow or a divorced wife, quite independently of the state of the bridegroom. From all this I conclude that, even though some of the purificatory and protective marriage rites have sprung from fear of hymeneal blood or from the idea that the bride may carry evil with her both as a newcomer into the bridegroom's household and in her capacity of being a woman, the bulk of these rites are due to the fact that the person who is subject to them is bride or bridegroom for the first time. She or he enters into a new state, the wedding is, to use a phrase coined by M. van Gennep, a *rite de passage*; and to pass into a new condition or to do a thing for the two or three children have been born in the marriage (*ibid.* p. 74). Although this statement is undoubtedly a valuable contribution to the psychology of the subject, we must not assume that the same idea as that held by the Indians of Canelos underlies all the innumerable cases of continence required of newly-married people, and I find no reason to alter the general views expressed in the text. It seems strange that the Canelos Indian should so readily allow the *supai* to have intercourse with his wife, as he believes that "the consequence of intercourse with the demon will be that the woman will either fall ill and die or give birth to a monstrous child" (*ibid.* p. 69). But in a private discussion on the subject Dr. Karsten affirmed that he was certain of the accuracy of his statement.

first time is not only in this, but in many other cases, considered to be attended with danger. But it must in addition be noticed that in the present instance the nature of the act itself which is sanctioned by the wedding is apt to increase the supposed peril, sexual intercourse, as we have seen, being looked upon as defiling and under certain circumstances as a mysterious cause of evil.¹

I venture to believe that all this in the main holds true not only of the Moors but of other peoples as well. Evidence from a detailed comparison between the prophylactic and cathartic rites practised at first and those practised at second marriages is unfortunately wanting. But we often hear that widows or divorced wives are married with less formality than girls.²

In our classification of marriage rites we have hitherto made a distinction between protective or purificatory rites and such as are held to result in more positive benefits. But we have seen that in many cases it is difficult or impossible to draw any such definite distinction. The same substance or action may sometimes be looked upon as a means of averting or expelling evil, sometimes as a source of good, and sometimes as both at once. Even when a certain rite is originally performed for a prophylactic or cathartic purpose it may easily come to be regarded as a means of securing positive benefits, and, on the other hand,

¹ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 329 sqq.

² de Piedrahita, *Historia general de las conquistas del nuevo reyno de Granada*, p. 23 (Mozcos). Henry, *Les Bambara*, p. 199 n. 1. Hurel, 'Religion et Vie domestique des Bakerewe,' in *Anthropos*, vi. 292. Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 62. Ranga Rao, 'Yánádis of the Nellore District,' in the Madras Government Museum's *Bulletin*, iv. 100. Sturrock, *Madras District Manuals : South Canara*, i. 161 (Bants). Hislop, *Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces*, p. 3 (hill tribes). Dehon, 'Religion and Customs of the Uraons,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, i. 165. Shaw, 'Inhabitants of the Hills near Rájamahall,' in *Asiatick Researches*, iv. 71. Endle, *Kacháris*, pp. 89 (Moráns), 96 (Chutiyas). Logan, 'Orang Binua of Johore,' in *Jour. Indian Archipelago*, i. 270. Plutarch, *Questiones Romanae*, 105. Placucci, *op. cit.* p. 62 (Romagna).

a rite which is in the first place meant to bring such benefits may come to be looked upon as a rite of purification. A mixture of the two kinds of motives is found in certain classes of practices relating to the celebration of a marriage which still have to be considered.

It is noticeable in the selection of the time when a marriage is to be celebrated. Many peoples consider it a matter of the utmost importance to find out the right day for the wedding, by consulting astrologers or otherwise.¹ Very frequently, also, a certain period or day is chosen, or avoided, because it is regarded as lucky, or unlucky, quite independently of any individual circumstances. In Ireland it was an ancient idea that people should not marry in the autumn in "binding" time, as they were sure to be unbound afterwards.² The Chinese and Hindus have not only their fortunate months, mentioned above in another connection,³ but also their unlucky months. In China no marriages, except in cases of extreme urgency, take place in the ninth month, which is regarded as very unpropitious.⁴ Sir W. H. Sleeman writes, "Certain it is that no Hindoo will have a marriage in his family during the four months of the rainy season; for among eighty millions of souls, not one doubts that the Great Preserver of the universe is, during these

¹ Davy, *Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 285; Sirr, *Ceylon and the Cingalese*, ii. 169; Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, i. 328 (Sinhalese). Winternitz, *Das altindische Hochzeitsrituell*, p. 29. Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 360 sqq. Anantha Krishna Iyer, *op. cit.* ii. 185 (Brahmans of Malabar, Cochin, and Travancore). Gopal Panikkar, *op. cit.* p. 26 (Nayars). Moegling, *Coorg Memoirs*, p. 37. Kearns, *Marriage Ceremonies of the Hindus of South India*, p. 54 (Naickers). Forsyth, *Highlands of Central India*, p. 149 (Gonds and Korkûs). Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 126 sq. (Khyoungtha). Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, p. 64. Young, *Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 94 (Siam). Taupin, reviewed in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 488 (Laos). Wells Williams, *Middle Kingdom*, i. 785 (China). Kûchler, 'Marriage in Japan,' in *Trans. Asiatic Soc. Japan*, xiii. 121. Das, 'Marriage Customs of Tibet,' in *Jour. Asiatic Soc. Bengal*, vol. lxii. pt. iii. 16. Bergmann, *Nomadische Streifereien unter den Kalmûken*, iii. 147 sq. Waitz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iv. 132 (ancient Mexicans).

² Wood-Martin, *Traces of the Elder Faiths of Ireland*, ii. 39.

³ *Supra*, i. 94.

⁴ Gray, *China*, i. 187 sq.

four months, down on a visit to Rajah Bull, and, consequently, unable to bless the contract with his presence.”¹ The Romans considered May and the first half of June unlucky for marriages;² and marriages in May are still avoided, or have been so up to recent times, in Italy,³ Greece,⁴ France,⁵ Scotland,⁶ Germany,⁷ and Bohemia.⁸ To marry in May is said to be a cause of death⁹ or madness.¹⁰ In Sicily¹¹ and France¹² August, also, is an unlucky month; it is supposed that those who marry then will be always jealous. The Sicilians say, “La spusa majulina Nun si godi la curta”; and “La spusa agustina Si la porta la lavina.” In Sardinia marriages are avoided in July.¹³ No Jewish marriage takes place between Passover and Pentecost, and Mr. Abrahams thinks “there can be little doubt that we are here in presence of a variant of the Roman superstition which forbade marriages in May.”¹⁴ In Morocco marriages are avoided in Moharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, at least by shereefs; and the Egyptians likewise consider it unlucky to make a marriage contract in that month.¹⁵

¹ Sleeman, *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, i. 50.

² Ovidius, *Fasti*, v. 490; vi. 225.

³ Bacci, *Usanze nuziali del contado della Valdelsa*, p. 12. Frescura, ‘Fra i Cimbri dei Sette Comuni Vicentini,’ in *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari*, xvii. 46. Pitre, *Usi e costumi credenze e pregiudizi del popolo siciliano*, ii. 48.

⁴ Rodd, *Customs and Lore of Modern Greece*, p. 90.

⁵ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 429. de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 242. Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, p. 112 sq.

⁶ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 387. Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 287. Rogers, *Scotland Social and Domestic*, p. 112. Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 88.

⁷ Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 60. Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, p. 174.

⁸ Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 368.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 368. “O’ marriages in May Bairns die in decay” (Auchterderran; Simpkins, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vii. Fife, p. 152).

¹⁰ Bacci, *op. cit.* p. 12. de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 242.

¹¹ Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 48.

¹² de Nore, *op. cit.* p. 242. Sébillot, *op. cit.* p. 112 sq.

¹³ Faggiani, in Provençal, *Usanze e feste del popolo italiano*, p. 232.

¹⁴ Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 184.

¹⁵ Lane, *Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, p. 432.

The choice of the time when marriages are celebrated is often influenced by the moon. The Esthonians marry when the moon is new, because they believe that it will make the marriage happier and prevent the women from aging.¹ In some parts of Sweden marrying at the new moon was supposed to make the couple wealthy.² In Shetland all marriages must commence with the new moon, since otherwise the marriage will be an unlucky one.³ In the Orkney Islands the people never marry but when the moon is growing, and some even wish for a flowing tide ; to marry when the moon is waning is believed to make the marriage-bed barren.⁴ In the southern districts of Scotland the inhabitants likewise preferred the increase of the moon for their marriages, whilst in other parts auspicious consequences were anticipated from their celebration at full moon.⁵ In various parts of Germany marriages are celebrated during the increase of the moon, so that there shall be no want, or when it is at full, so that everything shall be in full.⁶ The ancient Greeks⁷ and Hindus,⁸ also, married at the time of the crescent moon. The Kachins of Burma never marry when the moon is on the wane, for fear of shortening their lives thereby.⁹ The Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills believe that if marriages were consummated during the dark o' the moon, they might not be fruitful, and that there might be general bad luck and maladies as well.¹⁰

¹ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 24.

² Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 276. Rääf, *op. cit.* i. 110.

³ Black, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iii. Orkney and Shetland Islands, p. 207 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 214.

⁵ Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 285. See also Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 88.

⁶ Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 368. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 60 n. 4. Simrock, *op. cit.* p. 600. Tetzner, *Die Slawen in Deutschland*, p. 373. Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, i. 91. Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 434 sq. The custom of marrying when the moon is growing is also found in Denmark (Kristensen, *op. cit.* Tillægsbind, iv. 59).

⁷ Becker-Göll, *op. cit.* iii. 360.

⁸ *Grihya-Sûtras*, i. 164, 277.

⁹ Gilhodes, in *Anthropos*, viii. 367.

¹⁰ Bainbridge, 'Saorias of the Rajmahal Hills,' in *Memoirs Asiatic Soc. Bengal* ii. 50.

Certain days of the week are chosen for the celebration of marriages because regarded as auspicious, whereas others are avoided as ill-omened ; but these " lucky " and " unlucky " days vary in different countries and sometimes even within a comparatively small area.¹ Among Teutonic peoples Tuesday and Thursday used to be, or still are, favourite days for weddings, according to E. H. Meyer probably because they were dedicated to the marriage gods Tiu or Ziu and Donar.² In some parts of Germany Friday is considered a lucky day for celebrating marriages,³ whereas in other parts, under the influence of Christian ideas, it is regarded as inauspicious.⁴ Sunday is also chosen,⁵ and in various parts of Sweden it has become the regular day for weddings.⁶ In the north-east of Scotland the marriage day was either Tuesday or Thursday, more rarely Saturday.⁷ In the Orkneys and Shetland Thursday is the day generally

¹ Cf. Tetzner, *op. cit.* p. 82 (Lithuania).

² Meyer, *Deutsche Volkskunde*, p. 174. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 60 sq. Wuttke, *op. cit.* pp. 60, 61, 368. Simrock, *op. cit.* p. 600. Sepp, *Völkerbrauch bei Hochzeit, Geburt und Tod*, p. 56. Woeste, 'Aberglaube und Gebräuche in Südwestfalen,' in *Jahrbuch d. Vereins f. niederdeutsche Sprachforschung*, 1877, p. 135. Lithberg, 'Bröllops-seder på Gottland,' in *Fataburen*, 1906, p. 79 sq. Ullberg, 'Bröllops-seder i Södra Sibbo,' in *Hembygden*, viii.-ix. 144 ; Lindroos och Andersson, 'Ett bröllop i Pellinge,' *ibid.* 1910, p. 156 (Tuesday) ; Nikander, according to manuscript notes relating to Pärnä (Thursday) ; these three statements refer to Swedish-speaking communities in Finland. In some parts of Germany, especially where Slavonic influence has made itself felt, no marriages are celebrated on Thursday (Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 60).

³ Wuttke, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 368. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 61. Sepp, *op. cit.* p. 56. Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, ii. 59. Schell, 'Bergische Hochzeitsgebräuche,' in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, x. 163. Woeste, *loc. cit.* p. 135. Tetzner, *op. cit.* p. 373.

⁴ Wuttke, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 368. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 61. Simrock, *op. cit.* p. 600. Schönwerth, *op. cit.* i. 92. According to a Netherlandish belief, it is not good to be married on a Friday (Thorpe, *Northern Mythology*, iii. 330).

⁵ Wuttke, *op. cit.* pp. 58, 368. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 61.

⁶ Lithberg, *loc. cit.* p. 79 sq. Wikman, 'Frieri, förlofning och bröllop i Delsbo,' in *Fataburen*, 1913, p. 76. Djurklou, *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folklif*, p. 47.

⁷ Gregor, *op. cit.* p. 88.

fixed for marriage; but in the Orkneys people are also inclined to marry on Fridays,¹ and the same has been the case in Scotland²—indeed, at St. Monans it is very rare to see a wedding on any other day, although Friday is generally regarded as ominous of evil.³ According to an English tradition, it is unlucky to marry on a Thursday, perhaps because Thor is partly identified with the devil, and a couple married on a Friday are doomed to lead a cat-and-dog life.⁴ The brides of the Elizabethan dramas are usually represented as married on Sundays.⁵ Speaking of this custom, Jeaffreson remarks:—"In our feudal times and long after the Reformation, Sunday was of all days of the week the favourite one for marriages. . . . Long after the theatres of London had been closed on Sundays, the day of rest was the chief day for weddings with Londoners of every social class."⁶ In Wales Saturday is considered a lucky day for a wedding.⁷

In France in the seventeenth century a man avoided marrying on a Wednesday for fear of becoming a cuckold.⁸ There is still the saying, "On ne se marie pas le mercredi, De peur d'avoir nom Jean-Jeudi."⁹ But in Berry the man who marries on a Thursday is said sooner or later to become Jean-Jeudi, that is, a *cornard*.¹⁰ In Upper Brittany no marriage is celebrated on a Thursday, because that was the day when the devil married his mother.¹¹ As regards Friday opinion differs in France, as elsewhere: in some places weddings are frequently held on that day, whereas in other places it is regarded as an unfortunate day for marrying;¹² Thiers states that it was considered so in the

¹ Black, *op. cit.* p. 214.

² Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 285.

³ Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 163.

⁴ Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 33. For the English idea that it is unlucky to marry on a Friday, see also Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. North Riding, etc. p. 290; Mrs. Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. v. Lincolnshire, p. 146.

⁵ Thiselton Dyer, *Folk Lore of Shakespeare*, p. 336.

⁶ Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, i. 288.

⁷ Marie Trevelyan, *Folk-Lore and Folk-Stories of Wales*, p. 270.

⁸ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 429.

⁹ Sébillot, *op. cit.* p. 113.

¹⁰ Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.* ii. 22.

¹¹ Sébillot, *op. cit.* p. 113.

¹² *Ibid.* p. 113 sq.

seventeenth century.¹ All over Italy weddings are universally avoided on Fridays and Tuesdays—days when curses are supposed to possess extraordinary efficacy; a proverb says, “Nè di Venere nè di Marte, non si sposa nè si parte.”² On the other hand, Sunday is a favourite marriage day both in Sicily³ and Piedmont.⁴ In modern Greece marriages are generally celebrated on Sundays,⁵ and the same is the case elsewhere in South-Eastern Europe.⁶

Among the Jews, on the other hand, a marriage cannot take place on a Sabbath or a holiday, although it can do so on any other day of the week.⁷ Among Muhammadans the bridegroom frequently receives his bride on the eve of Friday, which is regarded by them as a blessed night, Friday being their Sabbath-day.⁸ In some parts of Morocco Sunday is also considered a suitable day for the beginning of married life as being the first day of the week, and in other parts Monday;⁹ in the same country Sunday is held to be the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some tribes Thursday and Monday are likewise regarded as suitable for this purpose.¹⁰ In the

¹ Thiers, *op. cit.* iv. 429.

² Bustico, ‘Il matrimonio nel Bellunese,’ in Provenzal, *op. cit.* p. 21. Bacci, *op. cit.* p. 12. Frescura, *loc. cit.* p. 46 (Sette Comuni; Thursdays are also avoided). Estella Canziani, ‘Courtship, Marriage and Folk-Belief in Val d'Ossola (Piedmont),’ in *Folk-Lore*, xxiii. 459. Faggiani, *loc. cit.* p. 232 (Sardinia; Mondays are also avoided). Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 50 (Sicily).

³ Pitre, *op. cit.* ii. 50.

⁴ Estella Canziani, *loc. cit.* p. 459.

⁵ Rodd, *op. cit.* p. 90.

⁶ Heuzey, *op. cit.* p. 276 (Valakhs). Stern, *op. cit.* ii. 105 (Rumanians in Macedonia), 107 (Bulgars). Kaindl, ‘Ruthenische Hochzeitsgebräuche in der Bukowina,’ in *Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde*, xi. 284 (also on Thursdays). Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 34 (Little Russians).

⁷ Rosenau, *op. cit.* p. 157. Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 186.

⁸ Löbel, *op. cit.* p. 25 n. 1 (Turks). Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, p. 175. Mrs. Todd, *Tripoli the Mysterious*, p. 94. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 86 sq.

⁹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 87. In Cairo the eve of Monday is also a fortunate period for receiving the bride (Lane, *op. cit.* p. 175 sq.).

¹⁰ Westermarck, *Ceremonies and Beliefs connected with Agriculture, certain Dates of the Solar Year, and the Weather in Morocco*, p. 8.

Kwantan district in Central Sumatra the same three days are by preference chosen for the celebration of marriages.¹ In Dahomey they are usually celebrated on a Sunday.²

There are also certain dates on which marriages are avoided and certain dates which are regarded as particularly lucky for marrying. In ancient Rome it was necessary to refrain from marrying on the so-called *dies parentales* (February 13th—21st) and the days of Kalends, Ides, and Nones.³ Brand says that in England people never marry on Childermas Day, which, for whatever reason, "is a black day in the calendar of impatient lovers."⁴ At Helmsley, in Yorkshire, there is the belief that to be wed on St. Thomas's Day makes a wife a widow ere long;⁵ but in Lincolnshire this day was, on the contrary, favourably regarded as a wedding day, because it afforded "less time" for repentance than any other.⁶ At Dunfermline the last day of the year—Hogmanay—was considered especially lucky as a day for marrying.⁷

It should be added, however, that there may be other than superstitious reasons for celebrating marriages by preference at a certain period or on a certain day. In Dukkâla, in Morocco, I was told that the weddings are held in the full of the moon in order that the people shall be safe from robbers; and I have no reason to doubt the accuracy of this explanation, as I never heard in Morocco of any superstitious connection between the celebration of a marriage and the moon, whereas the fear of robbers is always present to the minds of the people. Among the

¹ Maass, 'Durch Zentral-Sumatra,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xli. 160.

² Ellis, *Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, p. 155 sq.

³ Smith, Wayte, and Marindin, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, ii. 142. Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 272. Marquardt, *op. cit.* p. 43.

⁴ Brand, *op. cit.* pp. 290, 397 sq.

⁵ Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. North Riding of Yorkshire, York and the Ainsty, p. 290.

⁶ Mrs. Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. v. Lincolnshire, p. 235.

⁷ Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 163.

Jews the favourite wedding day in the Middle Ages was Friday, although the selection of this day was entirely against the Talmudic prescriptions on the subject, Wednesday and Thursday being the marriage days of the Mishna. But, as Mr. Abrahams points out, the convenience of marrying on Friday was so obvious that mediæval authorities, while deploring the custom, did not seriously attempt to effect a change; for the proximity in time to the Sabbath as a day of rest—on which no marriage could be celebrated—and the opportunity given for associating the wedding with the synagogue service of the following day, gave to Friday a peculiar appropriateness.¹ In Gotland, in Sweden, the wedding day was in the last century changed from Thursday to Friday, probably, as Dr. Lithberg suggests, in order that there should be no interruption of the festivities, which lasted during three days including a Sunday, when the guests had to accompany the bridal pair to church. But subsequently the time for feasting was reduced, and as a result of this Saturday took the place of Friday as the most usual marriage day in Gotland.² The popularity of Sunday weddings is also, no doubt, partly due to the custom of performing the nuptial ceremony in church, as well as to the leisure of the weekly holiday. In some cases the very idea that a certain period or day is "lucky" or "unlucky" for the celebration of marriages may have originated in the fact that it was regularly chosen, or avoided, not for any superstitious reason, but purely for the sake of convenience.

Besides marriage rites which are purely magical, there are others of a religious or semi-religious nature, often performed by a priest. In some cases these rites are intended to serve some specific purpose, such as the securing of offspring,³ but most frequently their object is to promote the welfare of the couple in general either by bestowing on

¹ Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 186.

² Lithberg, in *Fataburen*, 1906, p. 79 sq.

³ Percy Smith, 'Futuna,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* i. 38. Johnston, *George Grenfell and the Congo*, p. 680 (Bakongo).

them positive benefits or by protecting them against evil. They are found both among savage and civilised peoples.

In some African tribes sacrifices are offered to ancestral spirits¹ or to some fetish.² Among the Mpfumo clan of the Thonga, in South-Eastern Africa, the father of the bride performs a religious ceremony standing behind the bride and groom. He speaks to the gods, that is, the spirits of his ancestors, asking them to look at her and accompany her where she will live. "May she also found a village," he says, "may she have many children, may she be happy, good and just. May she be on good terms with those with whom she will be."³ All over Madagascar it is the custom for the bride, when she leaves her home, to be blessed by her parents, who ask God and their ancestors to give her a long life, happiness, wealth, and especially a numerous progeny.⁴ Among the Maori an aristocratic marriage was accompanied by a great feast (*umu kotore*) at which a priest recited certain prayers or invocations over the couple, in order to preserve them in health and prosperity, to ward off from them all evil, and to cause the woman to be fruitful and to cleave to her husband.⁵ In Tahiti, after the preliminaries had been adjusted, the parties repaired to the temple, where the priest addressed the bridegroom usually in the following terms:—"Will you not cast away your wife?" to which the bridegroom answered, "No." Turning to the bride, he proposed to her a like question, and received a similar answer. He then addressed them both, saying, "Happy will it be if thus with you two." And finally he offered a prayer to the gods on their behalf, imploring that they might live in affection, and realise

¹ Thomas, *Anthropological Report on Ibo-speaking Peoples of Nigeria*, i. 65. Johnston, *Uganda Protectorate*, p. 553 (Lendu).

² Härtter, 'Sitten und Gebräuche der Anglocr (Ober-Guinea),' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xxxviii. 44.

³ Junod, *Life of a South African Tribe*, i. 111 sq.

⁴ Grandidier, *Ethnographie de Madagascar*, ii. 184 sq. See also *ibid.* ii. 182.

⁵ Best, 'Maori Marriage Customs,' in *Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Institute*, xxxvi. 44 sq. *Idem*, 'Lore of the Whare-Kohanga,' in *Jour. Polynesian Soc.* xv. 5. Tregear, *The Maori Race*, p. 295.

the happiness which marriage was designed to secure.¹ Among the Igorot of Luzon a priestess performs the marriage ceremony, praying to the spirits of the deceased in the presence of all the kinsfolk of the couple.² Among the Bagobo of Mindanao a *mbaliān*, or female shaman, "spreads a mat on the floor, places on it many valuable articles, and then offers all to the spirits, in order that they may be pleased to give the couple a long and prosperous life together. Finally, she puts a dish of rice on the mat and, after offering it to the spirits, places it between the boy and the girl," who feed each other with it.³ At a Khasi marriage there is an elaborate religious ceremony at which God the creator, the god or goddess of the State, and, what is probably more important, the ancestress or ancestor of the clan are invoked.⁴ Among the Khyongtha⁵ and Garos⁶ a priest beseeches the gods to bless the union.

In ancient India various deities were invoked at the weddings, but the magical element by far predominated in the marriage ritual.⁷ Modern Hindus, except the very lowest, consider it essential for the validity of a marriage that a Brahman, acting as priest, should be present at its celebration.⁸ Among the Parsees the wedding service is conducted by two priests, the elder of whom blesses the couple, praying that Ahura Mazda may grant them "progeny of sons and grandsons, abundant means, strong friendship, bodily strength, long life, and an existence of 150 years."⁹ Religious marriage rites occurred in ancient Greece; thus the bride dedicated to various deities that

¹ Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 271.

² Meyer, 'Die Igorrotes von Luzon,' in *Verhandl. Berliner Gesellsch. Anthr.* 1883, p. 385.

³ Cole, 'Wild Tribes of Davao District, Mindanao,' in *Field Museum of Natural History, Anthr. Ser.* xii. 101 sq.

⁴ Gurdon, *Khasis*, pp. 127, 129 sq.

⁵ Lewin, *op. cit.* p. 129.

⁶ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 64.

⁷ Haas, in Weber, *Indische Studien*, v. 312 sqq. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 462 sqq.

⁸ Schmidt, *Liebe und Ehe im alten und modernen Indien*, p. 370.

⁹ Mary Billington, *op. cit.* p. 85. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, 'Marriage (Iranian).—1. Zoroastrian,' in Hastings, *op. cit.* viii. 456.

superintended the union of the sexes her girlish toys and other gifts, and more especially her maiden tresses, now shorn.¹ At the Roman *confarreatio*, as noticed above, a cake of *far* was offered to Jupiter Farreus,² and in the historic period an animal sacrifice was made at a wedding in Rome ;³ but we do not know to what deity it was offered, or, indeed, if it was offered to any deity at all. Generally speaking, the religious side of ancient Indo-European marriage rituals has been exaggerated by earlier writers, who have put a religious interpretation upon many purely magical ceremonies by associating them with the worship of divine beings.

The founder of Christianity did not prescribe any particular ceremonies in connection with marriage, but it has been assumed that the celebration of it among Christians was from the very first accompanied with suitable acts of religious worship. The testimony of the Fathers, from the middle of the third century onwards, shows that marriages contracted without any formal benediction did occur, but they were discountenanced by the Church.⁴ Yet, though the dogma that marriage is a sacrament gradually developed from St. Paul's words, τὸ μυστήριον τοῦτο μέγα ἐστίν⁵—in the Vulgate translated, "Sacramentum hoc magnum est"—and was fully recognised in the twelfth century,⁶ marriage without benediction was nevertheless regarded as valid in the Church till the year 1563, when the Council of Trent decreed that thenceforth no marriage should be considered valid unless celebrated by a priest in the presence of two or three witnesses.⁷

Luther's opinion that all matrimonial affairs belong not

¹ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, ii. 32. 1. Frazer, *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, iii. 279 sq. ² *Supra*, ii. 450.

³ Rossbach, *op. cit.* p. 309 sqq. *Idem*, *Römische Hochzeits- und Ehedenkmalen*, p. 105 sqq.

⁴ Tertullian, *Ad uxorem*, ii. 9 (Migne, *Patrologiæ cursus*, i. 1415 sqq.). *Idem*, *De pudicitia*, ch. 4 (Migne, ii. 1038 sqq.).

⁵ *Ephesians*, v. 32.

⁶ v. Scheurl, *Das gemeine deutsche Eherecht*, p. 15.

⁷ Roguin, *Traité de droit civil comparé. Le mariage*, pp. 103, 104, 128 sqq.

to the Church, but to the jurists, was not accepted by the legislators of the Protestant countries. Marriage certainly ceased to be thought of as a sacrament, but continued to be regarded as a divine institution. And sacerdotal nuptials became no less obligatory on Protestants than on Roman Catholics.

It was the French Revolution that first gave rise to an alteration in this respect. The Constitution of the 3rd September, 1791, declares in its seventh article, title ii. :—“ La loi ne considère le mariage que comme contrat civil. Le pouvoir législatif établira pour tous les habitants, sans distinction, le mode par lequel les naissances, mariages et décès seront constatés et il désignera les officiers publics qui en recevront les actes.”¹ To this obligatory civil act a sacerdotal benediction may be added, if the parties think proper. Since then civil marriage has gradually obtained a footing in the legislation of most European countries, although in some of them, as in England, the parties may choose the religious or the civil rite, just as they like, both making the marriage equally valid by law.²

The legal importance which has been attached to the religious ceremony in Christian countries has no counterpart either in Jewish or Muhammadan law. Although the former regards marriage as a divine institution, the omission of the benediction would not invalidate a marriage.³ The priestly benediction is mentioned neither in the Bible nor the Talmud; and the regular presence of a Rabbi at a wedding is not earlier than the fourteenth century.⁴ Nor does Muhammadan law require religious rites for the contraction of a valid marriage. In all cases the religious ceremony is left entirely to the discretion of the *qāzī* or person who performs the ceremony, and consequently there is no uniformity of ritual.⁵

¹ Glasson, *Le mariage civil et le divorce*, p. 253. Roguin, *op. cit.* p. 140 sq.

² See Roguin, *op. cit.* p. 141 sqq.; Glasson, *op. cit.* p. 282.

³ Rosenau, *op. cit.* p. 158.

⁴ Abrahams, *op. cit.* pp. 199, 200 n. 1. Grunwald, ‘Marriage Ceremonies,’ in *Jewish Encyclopedia*, viii. 341.

⁵ Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 318.

The office of the priest at a Christian wedding, however, has not been restricted to the performance of the nuptial ceremony: according to Roman Catholic rituals he has also had to bless the bridal bed, and this was considered one of the most important of the marriage rites. Thus in England, in the Papal times, no marriage could be consummated until the bed had been blessed. "On the evening of the wedding-day," says Jeaffreson, "when the married couple sat in state in the bridal-bed, before the exclusion of the guests who assembled to commend them yet again to Heaven's keeping, one or more priests, attended by acolytes swinging to and fro lighted censers, appeared in the crowded chamber to bless the couch, its occupants, and the truckle-bed, and fumigate the room with hallowing incense";¹ and the parties were also sprinkled with holy water.² That the clergy knew how to make profit by this custom appears from an old manuscript in which it is said that "new married Couples were made to wait till Midnight after the Marriage Day, before they would pronounce a Benediction, unless handsomely paid for it; and they durst not undress without it, on pain of excommunication."³ The object of the ceremony was partly to bestow upon the couple a long life and progeny and other good things, but partly also to protect them against evil influences; as appears from the formula given in the manual for the use of Salisbury, where it is said:—"Benedic, Domine, thalamum istum et omnes habitantes in eo; ut in tua pace consistant, et in tua voluntate permaneant: et in amore tuo vivant et senescant et multiplicentur in longitudine dierum. . . Qui custodis Israel, custodi famulos tuos in hoc lecto quiescentes *ab omnibus fantasmaticis demonum illusionibus*."⁴

¹ Jeaffreson, *op. cit.* i. 98.

² Douce, *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, p. 123.

³ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 403.

⁴ Douce, *op. cit.* p. 123. In Norway the custom of the clergy blessing the bridal bed still persisted in the beginning of the seventeenth century, although formally abolished by the Reformation (Troels-Lund, *op. cit.* xi. 66 sq.). Among German Catholics it is found to this day (Meyer, *Badisches Volksleben*, p. 306; Reiser, *op. cit.* ii. 250 sq.).

In this connection may also be mentioned the old Scotch custom according to which "the parson who presided over the marriage ceremony uniformly claimed it as his alienable privilege to have a smack at the lips of the bride immediately after the performance of his official duties"; for it was sturdily believed that the happiness of every bride lay involved in the pastoral kiss.¹

The rites which we have hitherto considered have in the first place reference to the welfare of the two individuals who enter into the married state and therefore form the centre of the ritual, and there can be no doubt that the large majority of marriage rites belong to this class.² But at the same time many of them have reference to other persons as well. The future offspring are concerned in fertility and other rites; indeed, when a certain ceremony is necessary for the validity of the union, its performance may materially affect the rights and social status of the children. Moreover, the conclusion of a marriage implies that either party enters into new relations to the other party's family or to the larger social group of which he or she is a member, and this also influences the marriage ritual.

There are rites which spring from the intimate contact into which the bride comes with the bridegroom's family, especially his mother, when she goes to live in his place. She is often, as we have seen, ceremonially received by her mother-in-law. In Romagna, on her arrival at her new home, the mother-in-law presents to her the key of the house, addresses her as the "mistress of the house," and gives her a kiss.³ Among the Slovenes of Carinthia the bride sits down at the table in the bridegroom's house, a woman places on it two glasses, from which the bride and her mother-in-law drink together, and the bride drops some money into her glass as a present for the mother-in-law.⁴ In Bulgaria, when the bride has arrived at the door of the

¹ Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 164.

² Cf. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 365.

³ Placucci, *op. cit.* p. 58.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* v. 114.

bridegroom's house, she is presented with honey, which she smears on all the thresholds she has to pass, "in order that she shall love her new relatives."¹ At Fez, a few days after the proposal has been accepted, some eight or ten women of the young man's family or kin, including his mother, go to visit the girl's mother, who entertains them with tea, food, and honey; and I was told that the object of the honey is to make the daughter "sweet" to the family of her future husband so that there shall be no quarrel between them. Among the Tsūl, an Arabic-speaking mountain tribe in the interior of Morocco, the bride's mother removes the right eye of the sheep which her husband kills on the occasion when the bride is painted with henna, and the dried eye is afterwards made into powder and, mixed with various spices, put into the food which the mother gives to the bridegroom's family to eat, "so that they shall look upon her daughter with affectionate eyes." Among the Berbers of the Aith Yūsi a date or raisin is put into the right slipper of the bride "that she shall become dear to her husband's family." In the same tribe the bridegroom's mother offers her some *sěksu* on her uncovered right thigh, and the bride snaps up a little of it three times, slightly biting the mother-in-law; this, I was told, is supposed to make the two women friendly to each other. In China, on the third day after marriage, there is a ceremony called "washing of the feet," which consists in the bride washing the feet of her mother-in-law and is supposed to be a sign that the mother-in-law will be no longer troubled with domestic affairs.²

Among the pastoral clans of the Banyoro "a bride was taken to live with her husband's parents, who received her as a daughter. She sat first in the-lap of her mother-in-law and afterwards in the lap of her father-in-law." When the term of her seclusion ended, the bridegroom took her to visit her parents, and he was admitted into their family as a son by first sitting in the lap of his mother-in-law and afterwards in that of his father-in-law.³ Among the common

¹ *Ibid.* p. 145.

² Stewart Lockhart, in *Folk-Lore*, i. 366.

³ Roscoe, *Northern Bantu*, p. 40.

people in the Stlatlumbh tribes of British Columbia, when a youth who wishes to marry a certain girl is informed that he is expected by her family, he visits the house of his future father-in-law. "When he enters he is made welcome and invited to sit down with the family alongside of his bride. It is this formal inclusion in the family circle of the bride that constitutes the marriage." He stays with his father-in-law for at least four days, but sometimes continues to live in the family of the latter. "This inclusion of the son-in-law within the family circle gives him all the rights of sonship and his offspring are regarded as belonging to his wife's family just as much as to his own."¹ Among various peoples the wedding is sooner or later followed by a ceremonial visit paid by the newly-married couple to the parents of the bride. This is the case in some tribes in Morocco, the husband presenting them food and kissing their heads.

A marriage, however, establishes new relations not only between the bride and the bridegroom's family and between the bridegroom and the bride's family, but between the other members of the two families as well. As we have noticed above, the feasting with which it is celebrated not only serves the purpose of giving publicity to the event, but also brings the families together and strengthens the ties which unite them.² Of the distribution of bread and salt at a betrothal feast in the High Vosges it is said, "Quand on a partagé le pain et le sel, en pareille circonstance, on ne fait plus qu'une famille."³ The following ceremony takes place at a Yakut wedding:—"The father of the groom, rising with a choice bit of meat in his hand, made an appropriate speech and gave the meat to the father of the bride. This is repeated a little later with the mother of the bride, then with her other relatives, and then with the most important members of her sib. Then the other companions of the groom complimented the parents and relatives of the bride in the same manner. The point of

¹ Hill Tout, 'Report on the Ethnology of the Stlatlumbh of British Columbia,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxv. 132 sq.

² *Supra*, ii. 438. ³ Sauv . *Le Folk-Lore des Hautes-Vosges*, p. 83.

all the speeches was, 'We are now related to each other; we will hereafter live in friendship and concord.' " ¹

By being attached to her husband's family and community the bride also enters into relations to the spiritual agents connected with them. In China the introduction ceremonies begin with a worship of the ancestors of the husband's family. After the performance of this ceremony and the worship of Heaven and Earth "she will present herself in the company of her husband before the latter's parents, and they will both pay their obeisance by kneeling down and kowtowing to them. . . . On the following day the bride will be formally introduced with such pomp as is usual on such occasions to all the relatives and intimate friends of the husband, and when this is done the bridegroom will call with the bride on her parents, and, with the exception of the worship of heaven and earth, all the other ceremonies will be repeated in the same way as has been done in the husband's house." ² The Roman bride brought with her three coins (*asses*), one of which she gave to her husband, one she laid on the hearth, and the third she threw down at the nearest *compitum* (crossways). "Here," Mr. Fowler observes, "she seems to be making an offering to the genius of her husband, to the spirit of the hearth-fire, and to the Lar of the family's land allotment, who dwelt in a *sacellum* at the *compitum*." ³ Among the Southern Slavs the bride still frequently offers a coin to the hearth in the husband's house. ⁴ In the Åland Islands in Finland, inhabited by Swedish-speaking people, the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's place, "buys" the spirit of it (*tomten*) by throwing a coin into the fire-place or putting a coin underneath the front-door steps or between two boards in the floor. ⁵ In Esthonia, the moment the bride enters the bridegroom's house, she is led through every part of it

¹ Sieroshevski, 'Yakuts,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxi. 82.

² Chen, *Patriarchal System in China*, p. 4. Cf. Leong and Tao, *Village and Town Life in China*, p. 107 sq.; Gray, *China*, i. 205.

³ Rossbach, *Untersuchungen über die römische Ehe*, p. 373 sqq. Fowler, 'Marriage (Roman),' in *Hastings, op. cit.* viii. 465. Cf. *Idem, Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 77.

⁴ Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 170. ⁵ Dr. Nikander, in manuscript notes.

and through the stables and gardens, and is bound to drop ribbons or money at each place and into the well and the fire.¹ In modern Greece, on the third day after the wedding, the young wife is taken by other married women to the spring or well which supplies the household with water; she drinks out of it, throws a few coins and some food into it, and dances round it together with the other women.² In Andjra, in Morocco, the wife, on the evening of the seventh day after her arrival at her new home, takes a loaf of bread which has been previously presented to her by her mother-in-law and goes in secret to the spring of the house, drops some pieces of the loaf on her way, puts some round the spring, and throws others into the water, saying, "I am one of the guests of God and of your guests, O owners of the land." Being a stranger, she thus places herself under the protection of the spirits and saints of the district. Next morning before sunrise she goes secretly, accompanied only by a young brother of her husband, to the sanctuary of the patron saint of the village or some other saintly place (*stýid*) near the house, taking with her a cock, a coin, bread, and incense. She addresses the saint with the words, "I am one of the guests of God and of your guests, O my lord the saint"; as a stranger she does not yet know, or is not supposed to know, the name of the saint. The cock is killed by the boy, and the knife with which it is done, and also the bread and coin, are left at the *stýid*.

In the same tribe, on the evening of the seventh day, the young wife also gives seven pieces of bread to the dog of the house, putting them one after the other on the top of her foot and letting the dog take them from there so as to make it friendly. Among the Berbers of the Ait Waráin, again, the water with which the bridegroom's mother has washed the right foot and hand of the bride over one of the fire-stones³ is then sprinkled on the cattle, so as to make the bride fond of them. In Delsbo in Sweden, where the wedding was held in the bridegroom's home if the

¹ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *op. cit.* p. 33.

² Sakellarios, *op. cit.* p. 27.

³ See *supra*, ii. 513.

couple were going to live there, the bride, on her return from church, went into the cow-house and gave to each animal a piece of bread or something else to eat, in order that she in the future should have good luck with cows and calves. Then she went into the stable and did the same to the horses ; and she also had a look-in at the cook-house and larder so that there should be plenty of food.¹ In some parts of Germany, too, the bride goes to the cattle and throws food to them, wishing them good luck.²

A marriage implies not only that the parties enter into new relations to each other's people, but, very frequently, that one of them, through the change of domicile, is actually transferred to the other one's family group. And it implies other changes in the social grouping of people : either party passes from one social class into another, the bridegroom from the class of the bachelors to that of the married men, and the bride from the class of the girls to that of the married women. This re-grouping also finds expression in the marriage ritual, as when the hair of the bride is arranged in the fashion of married women,³ or she ceremonially assumes the head-dress worn by them,⁴ or when the bride dances first with the unmarried girls and then with the married women and the bridegroom first with the bachelors and then with the married men.⁵ Sometimes it even leads to sham fights, just as does the removal of the bride to the bridegroom's house. A very common feature of peasant weddings in Denmark,⁶ Sweden,⁷ and the Swedish-speaking

¹ Wikman, 'Frieri, förlofning och bröllop i Delsbo,' in *Fataburen*, 1913, p. 82.

² Wuttke, *op. cit.* p. 373 sq. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 117.

³ See, e.g., Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 252, 276 sq.

⁴ See, e.g., v. Schroeder, *op. cit.* p. 144 sqq. ; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 100.

⁵ Lithberg, in *Fataburen*, 1911, p. 161 sqq. (Gotland) ; Wikman, *ibid.* 1913, p. 84 (Delsbo) ; Nicolovius (Lovén), *Folkklifvet i Skytts Härad i Skåne*, p. 140 sq. (Sweden). Allardt, *Nyländska folkseder och bruk*, pp. 27, 29.

⁶ Kristensen, *op. cit.* iv. 76.

⁷ Nicolovius (Lovén), *op. cit.* p. 140 sq. Djurklou, *Ur Nerikes folkspråk och folkklif*, p. 52. Hofberg, *Nerikes gamla minnen*, p. 201 sq. Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 267 (Wässbo). Hammarstedt, in *Festskrift til H. F. Feilberg*, p. 490 sq.

communities in Finland¹ is a struggle between the bachelors and the married men about the bridegroom, and between the girls and the married women about the bride; and a similar custom is found among some Slavs.² In Morocco the married men make violent attempts to catch the bridegroom or rob him of some of his belongings, and the bachelors of the village, who are surrounding him all the time, defend him; whilst the bride is surrounded by the unmarried girls, who must never leave her alone, lest the married women should interfere with her property.³ But sometimes the bachelors also beat the bridegroom, who is defended by his best-man,⁴ and although this is said to rid him of evil influences it may at the same time be a ceremonial punishment inflicted on him by his bachelor friends because he is deserting their class.

Though the marriage ritual centres round the bride and bridegroom, there are rites which are supposed to influence the welfare of other persons even independently of their relations to the principals. In Morocco the *baraka*, or holiness, attributed to bride and bridegroom makes a wedding an occasion from which persons who take part in it, or otherwise have anything to do with it, expect to derive certain benefits.⁵ Thus, when milk is offered to the bride on her way to the bridegroom's place, she dips her finger into it or drinks a few drops and blows on the rest, so as to impart to it a little of her holiness; and the milk is then mixed with other milk to serve as a charm against witchcraft, or poured into the churn to make the butter plentiful.⁶

¹ Allardt, *op. cit.* p. 27 sq. (Nyland). Lindroos and Andersson, 'Ett bröllop i Pellinge,' in *Hembygden*, i. 158. Aina Wadström, 'Frieri- och bröllopsbruk från Lappfjärd,' *ibid.* ii. 88 sq. Nordman, 'Bröllop i Houtskär,' *ibid.* vi. 82 sq. Mattans, 'Bröllopsseder i Korsnäs,' *ibid.* vi. 139. Tegengren, 'Bröllopsbruk i Vörå,' *ibid.* viii.-ix. 138.

² Piprek, *op. cit.* p. 87.

³ See Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, p. 346 and the references in the foot-notes.

⁴ See *supra*, ii. 517.

⁵ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 360 sqq.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 170, 171, 183, 190.

The bread or dried fruit which is thrown over the bridal box and falls on the ground is picked up by people who want to benefit their corn by putting it underneath the heap on the threshing-floor;¹ or the bride throws the barley which is offered her on the people, who catch of it what they can and mix it with their own barley.² Roasted barley brought from the bride's home is distributed among the wedding guests, owing to the holiness with which it is saturated.³ And when, after the consummation of the marriage, the people come to look at the blood-stained garment of the bride, they rub their eyes with the stains, which are supposed to contain *baraka* and be wholesome for the eyes.⁴

Among the benefits expected from a wedding there are such as are closely connected with the event it celebrates. Owing to a natural association of ideas, a wedding is looked upon as a potential cause of other weddings. In Morocco, before the bride is painted with henna, seven girls pour water over her at a spring and wash her body, hoping that by doing so they will get married themselves.⁵ The egg which is put into the henna bowl is subsequently eaten by one of the bride's girl friends who wants to get a husband soon.⁶ If any unmarried woman or girl is living in the house of the bride's parents, the bride is told to "drag her foot" when she leaves it, so as to help the unmarried one to a husband.⁷ When the bridal box is taken to the bride's village on the back of a mule, an unmarried youth sits inside it in order to get married soon;⁸ or when the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's house, has been lifted down from the mare which carried her thither, a bachelor for the same purpose mounts the animal and has a ride on it.⁹

In Brittany the bride, on her arrival at the bridegroom's house, distributes the bread and butter then presented to her among the young people escorting her, who eat it with eagerness because they hope that they thereby will get married during the year;¹⁰ or the pins which were fixed to

¹ *Ibid.* p. 195. ² *Ibid.* p. 211. ³ *Ibid.* p. 246. ⁴ *Ibid.* p. 159.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 153. ⁶ *Ibid.* p. 145. ⁷ *Ibid.* p. 165. ⁸ *Ibid.* p. 168.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 196. ¹⁰ Ogée, *op. cit.* ii. 357.

the crown of the bride are distributed among the unmarried girls, or boys as well, and this is supposed to have a similar effect.¹ In Worcestershire it is said that a girl who has a pin out of a bride's veil will soon be a bride herself.² In Northumberland the nuptial ring was in the evening dropped into a posset, which was instantly attacked by all the unmarried laddies and lasses, as the one who discovered it would be the first to get married. With the same object the bride, or a female attendant, threw her left stocking over her shoulder among those in the room, the one on whom it fell or who secured it being the person who would be married next.³ This custom, with small variations in details, occurred, or still occurs, in Scotland and Shetland, as well as in England.⁴ At Gardenston the bridegroom drew off his stocking and threw it among the bystanders to scramble for.⁵ But in some places "the bride's stockings were taken by the young men, and the bridegroom's by the girls; each of whom, sitting at the foot of the bed, threw the stockings over their own heads, endeavouring to make them fall upon those of the bride, or of her spouse. If the bridegroom's stockings, thrown by the girls, fell upon the bridegroom's head, it was a sign of their own speedy marriage; and a similar prognostic was derived from the falling of the bride's stockings, as thrown by the young men."⁶ In Aberdeenshire⁷ and Shetland,⁸ when the bridegroom had his feet washed, a ring was thrown into the tub, and after the ceremony was completed there was a contest for it,

¹ Sébillot, *Coutumes populaires de la Haute-Bretagne*, pp. 133, 135.

² Ladbury, 'Scraps of English Folklore, III. Worcestershire,' in *Folk-Lore*, xx. 345.

³ Murray's *Handbook for Travellers in Durham and Northumberland*, p. 140. Marie Balfour, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. iv. Northumberland, pp. 94, 96 sqq.

⁴ Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 393 (mining population of Fife). Gregor, 'Some Marriage Customs in Cairnbulg and Inverallochy,' in *Folk-Lore Journal*, i. 120. Hibbert, *Description of the Shetland Islands*, p. 555. Brand, *op. cit.* p. 399 sqq.

⁵ Gregor, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 100.

⁶ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 400. ⁷ Gregor, in *Folk-Lore Journal*, i. 119.

⁸ Hibbert, *op. cit.* p. 554.

the finder being the person who would be first married. In the northern counties of England it is deemed an augury of speedy marriage to rub shoulders with the bride¹ or bridegroom; and she who receives from the bride a piece of cheese, cut by her before leaving the table, will be the next bride among the company.² Brand states that in the North, and perhaps all over England, "slices of the bride-cake are thrice, some say nine times, put through the wedding ring, and are afterwards laid under the pillows of young folk when they go to bed, for the purpose of making them dream of their lovers; or of exciting prophetic dreams of love and marriage."³ This custom still survives in some parts of the country.⁴ At a wedding in Holderness in Yorkshire, "as soon as the bride and bridegroom had left the house, and had the usual number of old shoes thrown after them, the young folks rushed forward, each bearing a tea-kettle of boiling water, which they poured down the front door-steps, that other marriages might soon follow, or, as one said, 'flow on.'"⁵

A common Swedish marriage custom is that of "dancing the coronet off the head of the bride." It presents variations in details, but the following may be regarded as a fair description of it as practised in some places. With her eyes bandaged, and whilst the maidens present are dancing a ring-dance around her, the bride takes the crown from off her own head and places it, haphazard, on that of one or other of the damsels; and she on whom the honour has been bestowed is believed to be the first to obtain a husband. This girl, in her turn, places it on the head of a second,

¹ For a similar superstition among the mining population of Fife see Simpkins, *op. cit.* p. 393.

² Henderson, *op. cit.* p. 35.

³ Brand, *op. cit.* p. 396.

⁴ Mrs. Gutch and Mabel Peacock, *op. cit.* p. 231 (Lincolnshire). Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. ii. North Riding of Yorkshire, etc., p. 297. In Northumberland there is a belief that if the cake is broken by the bridegroom over the head of the bride and the pieces are then thrown up and scrambled for, they have much more prophetic virtue than when they are merely put nine times through the ring (Marie Balfour, *op. cit.* p. 96).

⁵ Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. East Riding of Yorkshire, p. 129 sq.

and so on with the whole of the party. The bride is then lifted on a chair, above the heads of her companions, and amidst tremendous cheering she drinks a toast, the implication of which is "a hope that all maidens may soon change their condition."¹

It seems that at European weddings not only speedy marriage but good luck in general is expected from contact with the bride or bridegroom, or something worn by them. In his description of Scottish superstitions Dalyell states that "an auspicious fortune was anticipated from gaining possession of certain parts of the apparel of the wedded pair," hence a struggle sometimes ensued, even in church, for the bridegroom's gloves.² In Yorkshire, as soon as the bride re-enters her father's house, after the ceremony is concluded, there is a general scrambling on the part of the guests to get the first kiss of the bride, and it is believed that the person who does so will be extremely lucky.³ In some parts of Scotland, after the marriage ceremony, the bride was expected to proceed round the apartment, attended by her maidens, and to kiss every male in the company, and a dish was then handed round, in which every one placed a sum of money.⁴ At Bourges it was the custom for brides on coming out of church to embrace indifferently all whom they met in the street, and in the province of the Marche they were said to do so before the marriage service.⁵ At Swedish country weddings it is the custom for the bride to dance with all the men,⁶ and frequently also for the bridegroom to dance with all the women.⁷ The former custom is found elsewhere in Europe,⁸

¹ Lloyd, *op. cit.* p. 27. See also Djurklou, *op. cit.* p. 51; Norlind, *op. cit.* pp. 111, 114, 116 sq.

² Dalyell, *op. cit.* p. 292.

³ Mrs. Gutch, *County Folk-Lore*, vol. vi. East Riding, p. 129.

⁴ Rogers, *op. cit.* p. 112. ⁵ Laisnel de la Salle, *op. cit.* ii. 66.

⁶ Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 266. Craelius, *Försök till ett Landskaps Beskrifning*; p. 423. Wikman, in *Fataburen*, 1913, p. 84.

⁷ Nicolovius (Lovén), *op. cit.* p. 139 sq. Eva Vigström, 'Folkseder i Östra Göinge härad i Skåne,' in Hazeliuss, *Bidrag till vår odlings häfder*, vol. ii. pt. i. 63; Djurklou, *op. cit.* p. 51. Hofberg, *op. cit.* p. 201. Lithberg, in *Fataburen*, 1911, p. 157.

⁸ Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, ii. 356.

as in various parts of Germany ¹ and among the Slovaks, where every guest who dances with the bride has to pay her some money.²

Dr. Hartland connects the bride-dance and the kiss which the bride bestows upon the masculine guests with the custom of the Nasamonians and some other ancient peoples, according to which she was on the wedding night considered as common property, and concludes that they hint at the former prevalence of group-marriage among the ancestors of the European nations.³ But if the right of kissing, or dancing with, the bride is to be interpreted as the survival of an earlier right of having sexual intercourse with her, what conclusions are to be drawn from the Swedish⁴ and Danish⁵ custom which prescribes that the officiating clergyman shall have the first dance with the bride, and from the Scottish parson's right to the first kiss? It should also be remembered that the bride dances with all the women and the bridegroom with all the men, and sometimes the latter even gives a farewell kiss to each of his bachelor friends.⁶ The ceremonial dancing and kissing at European weddings may have a different meaning in different cases; but to see in it traces of a primitive marriage institution which did not exist among any Indo-European people in the historic age, and the existence of which in prehistoric times is a sheer guess, is to my mind one of those errors of method which have more than anything else led astray many students of early society.

Those who join in a wedding may not only try to derive positive benefits from it but may also, like the principals, have to take precautionary measures against evil influences. In Morocco the same kinds of purifying or protective matters as are applied to the bride or the bridegroom are also in some places applied to their friends: the bridegroom's best-man or the bachelors of the village who surround him smear

¹ Sepp, *op. cit.* p. 67 sq. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 106.

² Pipek, *op. cit.* p. 108.

³ Hartland, *op. cit.* ii. 358 sqq.

⁴ Craelius, *op. cit.* p. 423. Nicolovius (Lovén), *op. cit.* p. 139. Gaslander, *loc. cit.* p. 266. Djurklou, *op. cit.* p. 51. Hofberg, *op. cit.* p. 201. Dr. Nikander has found the same custom in Åland.

⁵ Kristensen, *op. cit.* iv. 66.

⁶ Nicolovius (Lovén), *op. cit.* p. 140.

henna on their hands or clothes¹ and paint their eyes with antimony and their lips with walnut-root;² and the same things, as well as saffron, are used by the bride's girl friends who surround her, and even by all the women who are present at the wedding.³ In cases like these it may be difficult to distinguish between imitation and self-protection; but there seems to be an idea that persons who come in close contact with the bride or the bridegroom are also exposed to some danger. In one case I was expressly told that before the bride is carried into the bridegroom's tent guns are fired off close to her in order to prevent her evil influences from affecting the bridegroom's bachelor friends.⁴ So also the ceremonial wedding fights may serve a prophylactic or cathartic object for all who engage in them.⁵ Sometimes the dung of animals is used on these occasions,⁶ or the wedding guests smear porridge on each other's faces;⁷ and purifying qualities are attributed to these substances.⁸ Among some peoples it is not the principals but the assistants at a marriage who appear disguised in the costume of the other sex;⁹ and self-protection may be the object of this practice also.

From this survey of the marriage rites of many different peoples it appears that they are not empty formalities, but practices which are supposed materially to influence the welfare of individuals, families, or whole communities.¹⁰ Some of them may no doubt be regarded as survivals of earlier, either occasional or regular, methods of concluding a marriage. Certain rites, as we have noticed before, may have been suggested by genuine bride-capture,¹¹ and in other cases marriage by consideration may have left traces in

¹ Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, pp. 98, 113, 120, 327. ² *Ibid.* pp. 105, 120, 202, 282, 327.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 153, 156, 157, 161, 283, 327 sq. ⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 210, 218, 327.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 128, 224, 245, 261, 268, 327. ⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 245, 327.

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 242, 327.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 267, 269, 327.

⁹ Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, iv. 256 sq.

¹⁰ Dr. Karsten says (*Contributions to the Sociology of the Indian Tribes of Ecuador*, p. 72) that among the Canelos Indians the nuptial feast "is considered absolutely necessary, because without it the young husband would soon die owing to the machinations of the *supai*," or demon.

¹¹ *Supra*. ii 261.

the wedding ritual after it has ceased to exist as a reality ; but, generally speaking, the importance of marriage rites as means of studying earlier forms of marriage or relations between the sexes has been greatly exaggerated. Various rites are partly or exclusively fossilised expressions of such emotional states as sexual bashfulness, sorrow, or anger, whilst others are expressions of joy or erotic feelings. To the latter class belong dancing, which forms a regular feature of wedding feasts in many parts of the world,¹ and the sexual licence in which the guests are often allowed to indulge. But dancing as a marriage rite may also, in particular cases, have a symbolic or magical significance,² and, generally, be a method of attaining tumescence.³ And the sexual indulgence of the wedding guests may, on the principle of homœopathic magic, be a means of assisting bride and bridegroom in achieving the reproductive aims of their union.⁴

¹ Taplin, *Folklore, &c. of the Australian Aborigines*, p. 35 (Narrinyeri). Moszkowski, 'Die Völkerstämme am Mamberamo in Hollandisch-Neuguinea,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xliii. 322. Man, 'Aboriginal Inhabitants of the Andaman Islands,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xii. 138. d' Penha, 'Superstitions and Customs in Salsette,' in *Indian Antiquary*, xxviii. 116. Dennett, *Notes on the Folklore of the Fjort (French Congo)*, p. 21. Trenk, 'Die Buschleute der Namib,' in *Mittheil. Deutsch. Schutzgeb.* xxiii. 168. Theal, *Yellow and Dark-skinned People of Africa south of the Zambesi*, p. 215 sqq. Decle, *op. cit.* pp. 159 (Matabele), 347 (Wanyamwezi). Miss Werner, *Natives of British Central Africa*, p. 131 (natives of the Western Upper Shire district). Dale, 'Natives inhabiting the Bondei Country,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxv. 199 sq. Felkin, 'Notes on the Madi or Moru Tribe of Central Africa,' in *Proceed. Roy. Soc. Edinburgh*, xii. 321. Weiss, *Die Völkerstämme im Norden Deutsch-Ostafrikas*, p. 383 (Masai). Hopley, *Eastern Uganda*, pp. 24 (Bantu Kavirondo), 37 (Nandi). Munzinger, *Ueber die Sitten und das Recht der Bogos*, p. 63. Westermarck, *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco*, see Index s.v. 'Dancing.' de Gubernatis, *op. cit.* p. 189 sqq.; Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 103 sqq.; Jeaffreson, *op. cit.* i. 240 sqq. (Europe); &c.

² Cf. Sartori, *op. cit.* i. 103 sqq.; Norlind, *op. cit.* p. 145 sq.

³ Cf. Ellis, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, (vol. iii.) Analysis of the Sexual Impulse, p. 40 n. 1. Among the Xosa Kafirs "the dance at a marriage is considered of more importance than any of the others except the war dance" (Theal, *op. cit.* p. 215).

⁴ Cf. Norlind, *op. cit.* p. 144 sq., with special reference to Swedish marriage customs.

In spite of the great importance which is so frequently attached to marriage rites there are many peoples who are said to have no such rites. This is particularly the case with American¹ and Australian² tribes, but also with various

¹ Bove, *Patagonia. Terra del Fuoco. Mari Australi*, p. 133; Hyades and Deniker, *Mission scientifique du Cap Horn*, vii. 378 (Yahgans). Gallardo, *Tierra del Fuego-Los Onas*, p. 219; Cojazzi, *Los indios del Archipiélago Fueguino*, p. 17 (Onas). Falkner, *Description of Patagonia*, p. 124. Grubb, *An Unknown People in an Unknown Land*, p. 214 (Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco). Church, *Aborigines of South America*, p. 237 (Chiriguano). Sánchez Labrador, *El Paraguay Católico*, ii. 25 sq. (Guarani). Cardús, *Las Misiones Franciscanas entre los infieles de Bolivia*, pp. 71 (Guarayos), 254 (Matacos). Herrmann, 'Die ethnographischen Ergebnisse der Deutschen Pilcomayo-Expedition,' in *Zeitschr. f. Ethnol.* xl. 129 (Sotegaraik). 'Extracts out of the Historie of John Lerijs,' in Purchas, *His Pilgrimes*, xvi. 562 (Tupis). von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 331 (Bakaïri). Wallace, *Travels on the Amazon*, p. 512 (Múras). Candelier, *Rio-Hacha et les Indiens Goajires*, p. 209. Brett, *Indian Tribes of Guiana*, p. 101 (Arawaks). Letherman, 'Navajos,' in *Smithsonian Report*, 1855, p. 294. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States (Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge)*, ii. 132 (Comanche); iv. 223 (Bonaks of California); v. 268 (Creeks). Dodge, *Our Wild Indians*, p. 198 (Plains Indians). Marston, 'Letter to Jedidiah Morse,' in Emma Helen Blair's *Indian Tribes of the Upper Mississippi Valley*, ii. 167; Forsyth, 'Sauk and Fox Nations of Indians Tradition,' *ibid.* ii. 214 (Sauk and Foxes). James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains*, i. 230 (Omaha). Keating, *Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River*, ii. 157 (Ojibway). Heriot, *Travels through the Canadas*, p. 332 (Iroquois). Richardson, *Arctic Searching Expedition*, ii. 24 (Chipewyan). Coxe, *Russian Discoveries between Asia and America*, p. 230; v. Langsdorf, *Voyages and Travels*, ii. 47; Sarytschew, 'Voyage of Discovery to the North-East of Siberia, &c.,' in *Collection of Modern and Contemporary Voyages and Travels*, vi. 76 (Aleut). Lisiansky, *Voyage round the World*, p. 198 sq. (Kaniagmiut). Murdoch, 'Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition,' in *Ann. Rep. Bur. Ethn.* ix. 411; Gilder, *Schwatka's Search*, p. 249; Hall, *Arctic Researches*, p. 567; Holm, 'Konebaads-Expeditionen til Grønlands Østkyst,' in *Geografisk Tidsskrift*, viii. 91; Hodge, *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, p. 275 (Eskimo).

² Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 107. *Idem*, *Recollections of Squatting in Victoria*, p. 248 (Bangerang). Beveridge, *Aborigines of Victoria and Riverina*, p. 22. Wilhelmi, 'Manners and Customs

South Sea Islanders¹ and several Asiatic² and African³ peoples. Statements to this effect, however, need not indicate the complete absence of marriage rites. It will often be found, as Mr. Crawley points out, that "there is of the Australian Natives, in particular of the Port Lincoln District," in *Trans. Roy. Soc. Victoria*, v. 179. Withnell, *Customs and Traditions of the Aboriginal Natives of North Western Australia*, p. 16. Brown, 'Three Tribes of Western Australia,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xliii. 158 (Kariëra tribe). Browne, 'Die Eingebornen Australiens,' in *Mittheil. aus Justus Perthes' Geographischer Anstalt*, 1856, p. 450 (natives of King George's Sound).

¹ Best, in *Trans. and Proceed. New Zealand Inst.* xxxvi. 35 (common people among the Maori). Elton, 'Natives of the Solomon Islands,' in *Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xvii. 94 (natives of Ugi and San Cristoval). Parkinson, *Dreissig Jahre in der Südsee*, p. 160 (Baining of New Britain). de Rochas, *La Nouvelle Calédonie*, p. 231. Miklucho-Maclay, 'Ethnographische Bemerkungen über die Papuas der Maclay-Küste in Neu-Guinea,' in *Natuurkundig Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indie*, xxxvi. 299. Rawling, *Land of the New Guinea Pygmies*, p. 131 (natives of the Mimika district of Dutch New Guinea). Finsch, *Neu-Guinea*, p. 62 (Outanatas). Kubary, 'Die Bewohner der Mortlock Inseln,' in *Mittheil. d. Geograph. Gesellsch. in Hamburg*, 1878-79, p. 260.

² Knocker, 'Aborigines of Sungei Ujong,' in *Jour. Roy. Anthr. Inst.* xxxvii. 293 (Orang Bukit). Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 19 (Chalikata Mishmis). Rivers, *Todas*, p. 504. Dahmen, 'Paliyans, a Hill-Tribe of the Palni Hills (South India),' in *Anthropos*, iii. 27. Lowis, *Census of India*, 1911, vol. ii. (Andaman and Nicobar Islands) p. 100 (Nicobarese). Sarasin, *Ergebnisse naturwissenschaftlicher Forschungen auf Ceylon*, iii. 460 sq.; Nevill, 'Vaeddass of Ceylon,' in *Taprobanian*, i. 178; Deschamps, 'Les Veddas de Ceylan,' in *L'Anthropologie*, ii. 313 (some of the Veddas). Jochelson, *Yukaghir*, p. 89 (some of the Yukaghir). Labbé, 'L'île de Sakhaline,' in *Bull. Soc. géograph. commerciale Paris*, xxiii. 124.

³ Campbell, *Travels in South Africa*, p. 439; *Idem*, *Travels in South Africa, Second Journey*, i. 29 sq. (Bushmen). Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-Afrika*, p. 282 (Kimbunda). Decle, *op. cit.* p. 78 (Barotse). Duff, *Nyasaland under the Foreign Office*, p. 316. Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle*, p. 172 (Wataturu). Hinde, *The Last of the Masai*, p. 71. Delhaise, *Les Warega*, pp. 169, 177. Delafosse, 'Les Agni,' in *L'Anthropologie*, iv. 429. Ruelle, 'Notes anthropologiques sur quelques populations noires du 2^e territoire militaire de l'Afrique occidentale française,' *ibid.* xv. 661 (Lobi). Poupon, 'Étude ethnographique des Baya,' *ibid.* xxvi. 124. Clozel and Villamur, *Les coutumes indigènes de la Côte d'Ivoire*, p. 101 sq (Baoulé). de Espinosa, *Guanches of Tenerife*, p. 35.

some act performed which is too slight or too practical to be marked by an observer as a 'ceremony,' but which when analysed turns out to be a real marriage rite";¹ and even when positive rites are wanting, there may be abstinences of some kind or other connected with the conclusion of a marriage. The marriage ritual is particularly profuse among peoples who have reached a higher degree of culture and among tribes that have been in close contact with such peoples. It is nowhere richer than among the peasantry of Indo-European nations and among peoples of Semitic culture; but among the latter it seems largely to be of comparatively recent origin and distinctly suggests that Indo-European influence has been at work.² On the other hand, modern civilisation has proved destructive to the old rituals and has had practically nothing new to add instead. This is a natural consequence of the fact that the large bulk of marriage rites have originated in magical ideas which have vanished along with the progress in intellectual culture.

¹ Crawley, *op. cit.* p. 318.

² See my *Marriage Ceremonies in Morocco, passim.*